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ABSTRACT

This book is a collection of selected writings and speeches which document the developments in the Canadian adult education movement during the 1960's. The writings and speeches are presented in six sections as follow: (1) Introduction, (2) The Setting, (3) Organizing for Work, (4) Programs and Experiences, (5) The Learner, and (6) Coming of Age. Some representative articles from each of the sections respectively are (1) The Sixties; (2) The Meaning of English Canada; Automation and the Changing Meaning of Work; Education of Women; and EXPO--A Major Experience in Adult Education; (3) Organizing for Lifelong Learning; Aspects of Leadership and Participation; Community Development in Canada and Abroad; Adult Education Research in Canada; A Role for the New Universities; Establishing a University College for Adults; The Community College in Canada; Organizing Labor Education in the College; and Need for Innovative Schools for Adults; (4) Libraries; The Church as Educator; Challenge for Change; Living Room Learning in British Columbia; Frontier College: An Innovative Anti-Poverty Approach; Arts and Crafts Serving Adult Education; Programs for People Getting Ready to Retire; and Programs of Continuing Education for the Professional; (5) The Adult Self-Learner--An Historical Perspective; Factors Affecting Academic Achievement of Adult Students; and A Forty-Year-Old Takes Up Jazz; and (6) A Talk to Teachers; and Seeds of Promise. (EM)

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coming of age

Canadian Adult Education in the 1960's

Edited by
J. Roby Kidd
and
Gordon R. Selman

Canadian Association for Adult Education

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND REGRETS

Once more we have chosen the Anthology form to represent and illustrate developments in adult education in Canada over a period of time. We have done so for several reasons:

- —we could not ourselves equal or surpass the quality of much of the writing.
- —writing composed within a period of time has a flavour, an authenticity, an authority, a ring of truth that cannot be regained by backward reflection.
- —the field of adult education is so broad and varied that it can best be comprehended and understood by sampling many voices.
- —while most of the items included have had some form of publication, it was usually in a form that did not lend itself to easy retrieval and use without inclusion in such a volume.

We consider it a privilege to rescue these statements and make them available to the few who met them before and the much larger many who have never had that opportunity. The enterprise of adult education now attracts literally millions of learners and we hope that more of them will be attracted to thoughtful writings about learning that are filled with the day-by-day trials and triumphs that every learner knows. One of the chief fascinations of such writing is their forecasting of the future course of such movements as the "silent revolution" in Quebec.

The chief criterion for selection was the importance of the subject of the article not whether the views expressed by the author coincided with those of the Editors, or the Policies of the sponsor.

Our acknowledgements and thanks go to our authors and to those editors and publishers who first introduced them in print. Particularly we wish to thank Donald MacNeil who was Editor of *Continuous Learning* for much of the 1960's, from which journal many of these selections have come. We apologize for the necessity to abridge and make slight modifications due to exigencies of space and changes in circumstances over time. We hope that the writers will take some satisfaction that their work is becoming accessable to many new readers and that we have committed no acts of violence to the ideas.

We regret even more our inability to include many fine articles from the 1960's due to such considerations as themes becoming out-dated, or ownership of copywrite, or worse, our own lack of discernment.

Our deepest chagrin is that the Anthology uses only one of Canada's official languages. We believe that, in many respects, the "renaissance" in Quebec, the social-cultural-economic-educational-political-spiritual revolution that has been going on in that province, and among other Canadians of the French language and culture, was the most important event in Canada during the decade, and perhaps during the century. However, its significant impact on adult education can not be expressed in the pages of a single book, or in the English language. We pay tribute to the achievements in adult education from the French language and culture but we choose not to denigrate them by inadequate treatment. In our view, works similar to this but published in the French language are required before the publishing of composite, co-operative volumes. But we look forward hopefully to such a prospect.

Our gratitude goes to the many who contributed but to three persons in particular. Marge Denis had the task for over a year of collecting and selecting materials. Kurt R. Swinton supported the project at every stage and gave valuable support to its publication. Ian Morrison was responsible for the final arrangements so that this volume, like its two predecessors, would be sponsored and published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

JRK
GRS

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I INTRODUCTION: THE SIXTIES

GORDON R SELMAN

Coming of Age is the third in a series of anthologies published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education intended to reflect aspects of the adult education movement in Canada. Like its predecessors, *Adult Education in Canada (1950)* and *Learning and Society (1963)*, both of which were edited by J. Roby Kidd, this volume attempts to document the developments of adult education in this country by republishing writings and speeches of the period which are felt to be of interest and significance. There was a vast expansion of adult education activities in Canada during the 1960's and the editors are aware that such a volume can represent only a small segment of opinion and activity during those years. Nevertheless, it was felt to be important to continue the effort to document the growth of the field and in the anthology form. The time will soon arrive, if it has not already, when as in several other countries, an annual accounting may be required and when a handbook or a multi-volume approach to this task will have to be adopted. An indication of both the need and the advantage has been disclosed with the publication in recent years of related other works such as *Citizen Participation: Canada and Adult Basic Education*.

The editors also wish to make it clear that this volume does not to any significant degree deal with the literature in the field which has appeared in the French language, nor with the developments which have taken place in Quebec.

For Canadians the 1960's were a time of testing. They were years during which Canada matured as a nation. During that period Canadians experienced frustration on many fronts, came to see themselves more clearly and realistically, tasted the exhilaration of Expo and the trauma of the FLQ Crisis and moved into the 1970's with a clearer sense of national identity and a more seasoned approach to the problems of national development.

If we wish to summon up the variety and complexity of this decade, consider for one thing the three men who were Prime Minister during the period–John Diefenbaker, Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Trudeau. In terms of personality, leadership styles and views of the world around them, could Canada have had a more significant and fascinating range of qualities in its leading political figures? The interplay of the personalities of these men and the events of the period has focussed the attention of Canadians on national politics as never before.

The nature of the problems of national life during this period has been sobering, stressful and complicated, and dealing with these issues has tested the mettle of our people, at times threatening the very existence of Canada as we know it. In the Coyne Affair, a public official felt that the government's fiscal policies were so ill-suited to the needs of the country that he had to take the issue to the people directly. The strains on the Canadian federal system came close to the breaking point during the decade with Quebec-Ottawa relations being the focus of most attention, but as the decade went on it became clearer that the conflict involved all parts of the country. In the area of fiscal relations, provincial opting out and inter-regional equalization payments were conceived, hammered out and became familiar features of national life (during the decade.) The controversial spirit of "co-operative federalism" developed by the Pearson government in the middle years of the sixties may have preserved the fabric of Confederation.

One of the most prominent and pervasive developments of the period was the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. The victory of the Liberals under Jean Lesage in 1960 paved the way for sweeping changes in the province and led to a much tougher line in provincial-federal relations. A series of crises followed, the outcome of which affected all Canadians. The new formula for fiscal relations was worked out in April, 1964. Efforts to repatriate the constitution foundered on the problem. Some aspects of language and related cultural problems were dealt with by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and by the subsequent Official Languages Act. Separatism, long a psychological fact of life for many Canadians, came to the fore as a political force in Quebec during the decade and was dramatized by General de Gaulle's "vive le Québec libre" speech in Montreal. Extremism as a response to these same forces emerged in the early years of the decade in the form of isolated bombing incidents, led to civil strife, kidnappings and even murder, and culminated in the events of October of 1970 and the implementation of the War Measures Act.

As always, economic factors and developments loomed large. The government's fiscal policies and other measures designed to cope with the two problems of unemployment and inflation were a source of controversy throughout the decade. The facts of poverty, unemployment and under-education came into the public consciousness as never before since the thirties. The Economic Council of Canada was created during the period and by 1968 was branding the extent of poverty in the country as a "national disgrace". Housing problems were studied and brought to public attention, as were regional disparities. Government programs in the field of pensions, regional economic and social development and vocational training were among the most significant weapons adopted for the "war on poverty".

The Canadian experience in the field of international relations in the

1960's was less exhilarating, more complex and more controversial than that of the previous post-war years. Relations with the United States over Cuba, arming the Bomarc missiles with atomic warheads, the Columbia River Treaty and Vietnam, to name just four issues, were tough and at times testy. Participation in international peacekeeping, a source of some pride to Canadians, proved troublesome and more controversial, especially in relation to Vietnam, the Gaza Strip and Cyprus. To make matters worse, Canadian domination of the world hockey scene was unceremoniously broken during the sixties! Enough is enough.

Canadian nationalism came to the fore considerably during the period. This took many forms, among them a growing anti-Americanism in some quarters. Proponents of a "nationalistic" economic policy did not carry the day in Ottawa, although this became a matter of considerable controversy. The three "events" of the period which focussed the nationalistic feelings of many Canadians were the adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag during 1964, the Canadian centennial celebrations of 1967 and the outstandingly successful Expo '67 in Montreal. Peter Newman has aptly described Expo as "a mass rite that managed to expose the latent patriotism in even the most cynical Canadian, leaving them a little embarrassed at their sentiment, a little surprised by their tears".[1]

The 1960's was a decade of "years". The Centennial year was perhaps the most far-reaching in its effects. International Co-operation Year, Human Rights Year and World Refugee Year helped to bring Canadians an increased awareness of their membership in and responsibilities to an international community.

Some of the foregoing developments in Canadian society were reflected in the adult education scene as well. There would be something wrong if they weren't! Perhaps the most significant cluster of developments were related to economic conditions and at the same time to the post-Sputnik emphasis on the need for trained manpower, especially in the technical areas. The economic recession of the late fifties and early sixties, as well as other factors, led to the passage in 1960 of the Technical and Vocational Training and Assistance Act. This provided federal funds for the construction and operation of facilities for technical and vocational education, which were taken up by the provinces for the vast expansion of this work at the secondary and post-secondary levels. Technical and vocational institutes were constructed or expanded, colleges were created and vocational training facilities in high schools improved. The federal government entered the field of manpower vocational training in a big way. As this work developed during the decade, the need for pre-vocational training and for more adequate counselling and related services for adults became evident and provision in these areas was a prominent feature of the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967. Adult Basic Education became a prominent feature of the educational scene in Canada.

Problems of social and economic development, or the lack of it, became more clearly identified as the decade proceeded and various projects were mounted in response. These ranged from local and provincial efforts such as the community development program in Manitoba, to a variety of federally-funded projects, most notably those under the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Act and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, but including other programs such as those in the North and those of the Company of Young Canadians. By means of programs designed to serve individuals–most notably in the area of manpower training–and those intended to assist with the development of whole regions, a major national effort was mounted by the end of the decade to cope with problems of poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment. This resulted in an unprecedented expansion of adult education activities and the availability for this work of hitherto undreamed of amounts of money and numbers of workers. In many respects, adult education "arrived" in Canada during the 1960's, and our title for this volume is "Coming of Age".

By using such a title we do not mean that everyone understood the new status, that adult educationists were more prideful or competent or that serious problems do not remain. On the contrary, what is called the adult education movement has responsibilities, perhaps obligations, which were never shouldered before, and an unvoiced and unanswered question has to do with performance. But it is clear; and probably irreversible, that adult education in Canada will never again be a peripheral, "some time thing" and the date of this transformation probably occurred during the 1960's.

Seen from the perspective of the adult education movement, the decade was a period of several major developments in addition to those already mentioned. The arrival on the scene of the community colleges, especially in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec, provided an important new dimension to educational opportunities for adults. Enrollments of adults in other educational institutions, especially the public schools and the universities, for both credit and non-credit activities increased enormously. Continuing education in the professions was one of the most rapidly developing aspects of the field and the work of both professional associations and educational institutions in this field was greatly expanded. Education for leisure, in its many dimensions, though seriously underfunded, expanded enormously in many settings, both private and public. Arising out of the youth culture and the widespread questioning of our lifestyles in the industrialized countries came the further development of a many-faceted movement concerned with personal growth and development and sometimes referred to as the "human potential" movement. There was a considerable expansion of adult education activities dealing with human relations and individual growth and development. To some extent this represented a retreat from the world;

to some extent it was aimed at a more effective participation in the world. Adult education for women, an aspect of the changing role and social consciousness of women in Canada, expanded greatly, especially in the latter part of the decade.

Canadians learned a great deal about Canada and their role in our society during the 1960's. The struggle over the concepts of biculturalism and multiculturalism contributed to this, as in a strange way did the unprecedented coverage given to the political leadership conferences, the election campaigns and the federal-provincial conferences. The "Challenge for Change" project of the National Film Board contributed significantly. The flag debate and the flag itself had their effects. The events of Centennial Year touched most Canadians. Perhaps most dramatically of all, the experience of Expo—whether one attended or not—gave many Canadians a feeling about their country of a kind or quality which they did not have before.

During the sixties there were important developments in Canada for adult education as a profession. There were degree programs in the field at six universities by the end of the decade, whereas there had been only one in 1960. Some hundreds of Canadians received professional training in the field as a result. Other institutions were offering individual courses, both credit and non-credit, in the field. Research in adult education greatly increased in volume and inventories of research were published towards the end of the period. Historical research on the development of the field in Canada began to appear, most of it arising from the professional degree programs. The organizations devoted to the advancement of adult education programs and personnel increased their activities, with the emergence of provincial bodies being the most significant new development.

The formal educational systems of Canada came in for a great deal of criticism during the 1960's. There was a mounting wave of student protest in secondary and especially in the post-secondary institutions, with dropping out and stopping out becoming a familiar pattern. Generally speaking, adult education institutions and programs were not affected—certainly not to the same degree—by these developments. This was perhaps because by and large, participation in adult education was on a voluntary basis, and perhaps also because of the student-centred approach which has been characteristic of much adult education practice. Seen from the vantage point of the adult education movement, much of the reform which began to take place in the rest of education by the late sixties represented an adoption by the formal systems of approaches which had long been familiar in adult education—involving the learner in the planning process; flexible and varied forms of instruction; emphasis on learning rather than teaching; small group techniques; and the involvement of the learner in program and individual evaluation. As a result of these developments, adult educators have gained a new sense of confidence in what they have to contribute to emerging systems of lifelong learning.

With greatly increased budgets, staffs, enrollments and institutional structures which some segments of adult education acquired during the 1960's, came new and unfamiliar responsibilites. Increased pressures for accountability and for coming to terms with the machinery and procedures of big institutions have tempted some adult educators to long for the by-gone days of marginality, genteel poverty and relative obscurity. But there is no turning back. Adult educators have long looked forward to the day when the education of adults would be recognized by the powers-that-be as an equal partner in the educational spectrum.

But as that recognition begins to materialize, concerns emerge about the philosophical directions of adult education. Will adults be assisted to continue their learning in the directions they choose, or will they receive help only in those directions society determines? The national journal of adult education, *Continuous Learning*, editorialized on this issue towards the end of the decade:

> *It is hard to escape the feeling that in terms of central national public policy, with few exceptions, the tide is running very strongly against a conception of adult education as a right. And it is precisely in the context of a* "right" *that the real attitudes begin to reveal themselves. If it is held that it is a* "right", *then the centre of concern becomes the individual adult and what he needs and chooses to learn. Short of that, the only concern is of the functional variety in which the potential of adult learning is put to the service of whatever dominant social goal happens to be on hand. Every major institution catering to adults is either seduced by, or sacrificed to, these particular goals. The issue lies squarely between the belief that it is a* "right" *and the belief that it is only a* social function. *The question is—do adult educators have the wish or the will to do battle over it? How strongly do they believe that the learner is the necessary centre of the enterprise?*

These crucial questions faced all those involved in the field at the close of the decade. Were there grounds for concern that adult educators, coping with increased numbers of students and preoccupied with the pleasures and problems of mounting programs in newly-funded institutions and projects, would not rise to the challenge? Would the availability of unaccustomed resources and rapid growth and advancement in many areas of adult education lead the movement to forget what had traditionally been its central concerns, the rights of the individual learner and the nature of his or her community?

1 Peter C. Newman, *The Distemper of our Times*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart
2 Editorial, *Continuous Learning*, vol. 7, no. 3 (May-June, 1968), p. 100

II THE SETTING

The Impact of Some Major Social Developments of the 1960's on Adult Education.

> *Canadians are more open to rapid change than any advanced nation: we have no tattered bits of empire to defend, no antique patron system or class system, no sense of national glory, or "manifest destiny", no white man's burden, no civilizing mission, no Monroe Doctrine, no world revolution to advance by warfare, no fatherland to raise above all others, no wailing wall to achieve, no one in jail for burning a flag, no collective contempt for the long noses or the barbarians or the uncircumsized, or black, white, yellow, red, brown or beige. What we say is "Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays, c'est l'hiver." Our snowy blankness is truly wonderful.*
>
> . . .
>
> *We compromise like lightning, we dither and ponder a lot and don't assert ourselves much, and change pretty easily within the existing form of things. We are beginning to show our liking if not our love for each other, and we have always loved the land, openly and poetically. We are pretty good at respecting liberty and individual conscience and we are becoming astonishingly good at respecting collective liberties. We are weak haters.*
>
> JAMES BACQUE

Some social forces are hardly felt at the time they first surface, they only work themselves out or are understood later. Already in the 1970's the preceding decade is referred to as a "time of dissent" or to borrow the phrase of the late W. H. Auden, most of us were living in "the suburb of dissent."

However, living through the 1960's in Canada, other concerns, other influences had more direct impact and consequences. There was the discovery of the power of change itself, the need to live with change as a constant, to cope intelligently with a future of dramatic change, a discovery that Hugh Keenleyside writes about long before the arrival of Toffler and the spurting organizations of futurists. There were new dimensions to a perennial Canadian concern with language and culture. Attempts were being made through education to control automation and technology, to "redirect the robot" and to value leisure as a condition of choice, not a measure of time.

As in most countries the education of women became a central preoccupation, long before the declaration of a special *Women's Year* but the emphasis was not only on separate needs but on common opportunities shared with all human beings, including males. The issues of communication and the use and misuse of media were reviewed, at least annually. So were the relationships of the rest of Canada with Quebec.

All of these issues and forces although each was coloured by the decade are items on a continuing agenda. Unique to the 1960's were Canada's Centennial and Expo, both drastically affecting adult education.

A decade of dissent? Yes, but it expressed forces and responses much wider and deeper, than mere dissent, some sombre or frightening, some assuring and alluring.

Clearly then, adult education is not just a matter of enrollment, methods, curricula and media. Adult education is about problems, causes, hates and loves. James Bacque is only partly right about Canadians. They are not apathetic, most of them; they want to engage. For many adult education has been a recognition of human need: it is a more-or-less peaceful means of dealing with the life-and-death matters of human existence in Canada and among all members of the human family. In one sense all parts of this anthology are about issues, but in this section are presented some of the concerns of the 1960's that deeply affected adult education: matters such as the "French fact", discrimination against girls and women, what that unique phenomenon Expo meant to Canada and the re-entry of China into the international scene. The selections illustrate but they do not exhaust the subject.

(1) The Changing Scene

A prelude to "Future Shock" and the futurists.

H. L. KEENLEYSIDE (1968)

To say that we live in a time of change is a repetition and a platitude. It is repetitious because it has been said by almost every thoughtful person in every generation since men began to think of themselves as participants in an organized community. It is platitudinous because there are only a limited number of ways of expressing a simple fact and they have all been used, and used, and used.

Even the famous American who was said to be able to "Stroke a platitude until it purred like an epigram" could hardly think of a new way to describe the fact that we are living in a time of change.

But if the statement is hoary with age it is also true; and it is true to a degree that has never been equalled at any time in the past.

Human knowledge has increased more in the last two hundred years than it did in the 5000 years before the middle of the 18th century. The beliefs and ideas of John Wesley or General Wolfe or even Thomas Jefferson had more in common with those of the Pharaohs or the early Chinese than they have with those of Wilder Fenfield, or Albert Einstein or Mao Tze-tung. There have been such radical changes that we hardly use the same language much less share the same concepts. Even when we continue to use the same words, as in some of our religious creeds, we indulge in rather absurd semantic gymnastics to provide an acceptable modern interpretation of the original plain meaning of the words.

If it is true that today changes are taking place in our society with steadily increasing rapidity there is no reason to believe that this will stop. In consequence any person or any organization that wishes to meet the problems of the remaining years of this century should be giving most careful consideration to the probable character of these changes.

Forecasting used to be a rather hazardous occupation as some of the more tyrannical and superstitious rulers had the nasty habit of executing their soothsayers until they found one who would foretell what the ruler wanted to hear. Today these hazards are greatly reduced and while prophets may lose their reputations they seldom lose their heads—except intellectually.

Of course if one confines his predictions—as I am doing—to a point in time that is far enough in the future he will not be around to be called to account for any miscalculations.

Without taking time to insert all the proper qualifications and the appropriate saving clauses, in the next 35 years these are some of the changes that are likely to take place:

- —the world population will more than double; that of Canada will rise to over 50 million, and that of British Columbia will increase from just under two million to over five.
- —life expectancy will be raised into the 80's for men and 90's for women (ladies therefore will continue to have the last word); blood banks and eye banks will be supplemented by heart banks, liver banks and other accumulations of spare parts including wombs and ovaries.
- —communications will accelerate so that travel to any part of the earth will be less than 5 hours away; from Toronto to Vancouver will take about forty minutes. Instant communication by radio-television will be possible between private houses and offices that are continents apart.
- —there will be a permanent astronomical station on the Moon and scientists will be flying close to planets like Mars and Venus for first-hand observations.
- —there will be over 400 million automobiles in North America and in many places they will operate on highways under the control of

magnetic strips and radar systems for the automatic adjustment of speed and direction.

- motor cars will be prohibited entirely in large segments of our cities.
- almost all traffic will operate on electric power much of which will be derived from nuclear energy. In other cases the electricity will be generated in small metal capsules by cells which will convert fuel directly into electricity through chemical action.
- food will be grown in concentrated areas including fish farms and a great variety of hydroponic installations; much of the wood waste that is not directly suitable for paper or textiles will be turned into hamburgers and other comestibles.
- cleaning will be done by sound waves, colours will be changed by light waves, food will be cooked instantly, and many household and most office problems will be handled by computers.

These changes are all, of course, of a physical and largely of a quantitative nature. They do not involve and cannot supersede the necessity of value judgments. Nor do they take into account many of the serious problems that humanity has created and has so far shown few signs of being able to solve.

The most obvious problem that mankind must face in the years immediately ahead is that of survival itself.

The material, scientific, physical changes of the past two centuries have not been accompanied by any comparable advance in ethical standards or community morality. Today we have placed the appalling knowledge of how all life can be exterminated in the hands of a society which is still in large part morally delinquent. Any objective study of human history makes it very difficult indeed to believe that having this power we shall refrain from its use. Every precedent points in the opposite direction. Perhaps the poet W. H. Auden had the answer to this problem. A few years ago he wrote: "Ten minutes with the newspapers leaves me with the conviction that the human race has little chance of survival unless men are disfranchised and debarred from political life: only women have the sense to know which toys are dangerous."

As we sit here tonight, aircraft, armed with hydrogen weapons, are flying back and forth over this continent and over Eurasia as well. How long will it be before by accident or mad design these planes will be started on their deadly mission? With the over-kill capacity that has now been developed by both sides in the insane conflict in which we are all entrapped it is not unlikely that we shall end the human story within the next few years.

However, for planning purposes we must act on the assumption that we shall survive the mortal danger in which as a race or species we have placed ourselves.

The second great problem confronting us is the very antithesis of the first; not that humanity will disappear but that its numbers will expand beyond our resources both of physical essentials and of social intelligence.

5 per cent of all the human beings who ever lived are alive today. Human numbers are increasing at over 2 per cent a year – in some of the less-developed areas the rate is over 3 per cent.

2 per cent does not sound like very much but if there had been only one couple on earth at the time of Christ and they had increased by 2 per cent per year there would now be 1,025 persons on each square foot of land in the world. That would be carrying togetherness a bit too far.

If present trends continue a child born today will, before he reaches the age of 75, be faced by a world in which it will be quite impossible to live; a world of something between 50 and 60 billion people.

Related to the problem of numbers is the problem of work or occupation.

The progress of the machine has now reached the point at which 4000 people are being superseded by automation every day in the United States. This process is accelerating at a phenomenal rate in every industrial country – including Canada. There is, I think, no possible doubt that before the end of this century the work week in our kind of society will be down to fifteen or twenty hours. Even with such a reduction it is unlikely that we shall be able to employ anything like all of our potential workers. Certainly there will be little work for the unskilled. The only fields in which the demand will keep up with the rise in population will be highly skilled processes – including the professions – and in the service industries and trades.

If not certain it is at least very probable that before 2000 A.D. in most of the developed countries, there will be a basic allowance paid to every inhabitant whether he – or she – works or not. It will be only by some arrangement of this kind that purchasing power can be maintained at the level essential to keep industry in expanding operation.

The social result of these changes will be an enormous increase in the amount of leisure that most people will experience – and our major social problems will be associated with its use.

If these forecasts and this interpretation of how human society will fare in the next thirty-five years are basically correct they lead, it seems to me, to three broad but practical questions.

1. What can be done to reduce the possibility of annihilating war?
2. What can be done to reduce the threat and the evil effects of over-population?
3. What can be done to encourage socially beneficial rather than socially detrimental use of the enormous increase in the amount of leisure that will be commonly available?

With regard to war it is obvious that some kind of world-wide international authority must be created. Human history shows a steady progression in the size of its social groupings. First the individual, then the family, the clan, the local city–or community-state, and then the nation-state. Both the present degree of economic and scientific interdependence, and the dangers inherent in rampant and independent nationalism make the next step an imperative necessity. That it must and will come is certain; what is uncertain is whether it can be achieved without the shock of another and far more dreadful world war. In the meantime we should all do everything we can to strengthen the United Nations and to promote the educational work being done by the World Federalists and similar organizations.

An essential part of any progress towards the establishment of an effective world government will be a vast increase in the programmes designed to make the material blessings presently available to about one-quarter of the people of the world, available to the three-quarters who are now submerged in poverty, ignorance and disease. A start has been made. What is now being done in the way of economic, social, financial and administrative assistance to the backward and poorer countries would have been inconceivable a generation ago. But what has been done is only a meagre start in comparison with the urgent and obvious needs. The real question is whether we can do what needs to be done in the time left to us. Here in its clearest form is what H. G. Wells once described as the race between education and catastrophe.

Then we turn to the *problem of population*. Unless some unknown and improbable natural check on population growth should intervene we shall be faced, in the lifetime of persons now living, *either* with the necessity of deciding to persuade or to force billions of people to practice some effective method of birth control, *or* with the selection of some technique for getting rid of enormous numbers of people who have been allowed to be born into a world that cannot support them. It is a simple choice between birth control and genocide.

Even if the general birth rate is radically reduced within the next couple of decades we are still going to be faced with a vast range of problems resulting from the growth that cannot be stopped. Even here in Canada, which in this matter is for the moment one of the most fortunate of lands, there will be many new and complex problems to face.

–What shall we do about our immigration policy in such a world?

–How shall we meet the vast array of social difficulties that accompany over-crowding in our cities: the lack of privacy, the debilitation of family life, the growth of extensive as well as intensive slums, the lack of contact with nature in its more attractive forms, the apparently almost inevitable breakdown in civic responsibility because of the increased complexity and size of our communities?

—What shall we do to assist our Indian compatriots, the fastest growing segment of our population?

—What policy should we follow in relation to the conservation and rational use of our basic resources—above all of water?

Why do we continue to look with pride on the size of our communities? This it seems to me, is one of the most absurd of pre-occupations. Is there any virtue in seeing Montreal go higher on the list of the world's cities? Will Toronto be any better when it has 3 million people instead of 1? Here in Vancouver our spawning growth is destroying one of the most beautiful valleys in the world. In 25 years—unless our sensibilities improve our habits—for 100 miles from Vancouver to Hope there will be a solid mass of real estate subdivisions, shopping centres, hot dog stands and hamburger joints, the usual succession of hideous and untidy service stations, used car lots and similar abominations. Not one of the beautiful farms and lush fields that today show how nature and man can cooperate to their mutual advantage will be left. Vancouver may well be the largest city on the Pacific Coast (except no doubt for that excresence known as the City of the Angels) but only the mountain tops and the sea will retain their beauty. Most of Stanley Park will be a black-topped parking lot.

Closely related to the growth of population is the problem of how men and women, and particularly young men and women—many of whom may never have had a job—will adapt to a life in which the use of most of their time will depend on their own inclinations.

Here philosophers as far apart in time as Confucius and Bertrand Russell are agreed. According to Confucius "it is the mark of a superior man that he will take no harmful ease" and Lord Russell has said that "to be able to fill leisure intelligently is the last product of civilization." The quality of our civilization will soon be put to this test. Here as in so many other cases Shakespeare said the apt word when he had Hamlet ask:

> *"what is a man*
> *If his chief good and market of his time*
> *Is but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more".*

Here in Canada we are very fortunate people. I get thoroughly nauseated by those Canadians who are continually talking about their country as a dull, second-rate, uninteresting, pedestrian nation with a boring past, and an uncertain future: people who, in the words of W. S. Gilbert are like

> *"The idiot who praises, with enthusiastic tone*
> *All centuries but this, and every country but his own".*

Canada is a great, dynamic country. Its history when properly written is a saga of high achievement and of exciting men and women. It has pioneered in many fields and has compiled a record of resource development and of social responsibility which, without hiding its faults, is a story of which we can all be proud. If any other country has accomplished more in a comparable time it has never come to my attention. It is time to stop this constant belittling of our country.

In these matters of prejudice and discrimination, and in concern for the welfare of our neighbours at home and those in need in foreign lands, we have come a long way in Canada. Our weaknesses and failures, our sins against our professions and our ideals, are fewer than they were. As a people we are more widely concerned than ever before with the injustices and the inequalities that still afflict us and the world in which we live. More Canadians than at any time in the past do realize that as long as any one is unjustly treated all of us suffer with him.

No Canadian, however, can be fully satisfied with what we have done or what we are doing. We have shortcomings and faults which should be corrected. We still suffer from failures and weaknesses in our community life and in our private conduct.

(2) Language and Culture.

Three statements about a theme that dominated public discussion, all during the 1960's.

Pas comme les autres

ALAN THOMAS

EDITORIAL *CONTINUOUS LEARNING* (1964)

Without doubt the subject of Bilingualism and Biculturalism is the most important assignment of any Royal Commission since the Rowell-Sirois Commission, and perhaps it even exceeds that in significance. It is a curious way for any country to celebrate its centenary; that is, by means of a painful analysis of its very roots and texture. Yet it is perhaps not untypical of the way Canada goes about its affairs. It may not be as much fun as our professional centennialists keep urging us to indulge in, but it will certainly be a spectacular and breathtaking affair, dwarfing any other festival so far suggested. And perhaps when it is completed to everyone's satisfaction, we will be able to relax and celebrate, having passed through this most apparent valley of the shadow of dismay.

All of these adjectives are used judiciously, for it must be clear to all of us that we have perhaps come to a junction on the road of government by Royal Commission with a whopper. It must be apparent to all that, nationally the country is very nearly ungovernable. Every aspect of national policy, such as it is, seems at the mercy of special objections and negotiation, not only on the part of Quebec, but on the part of nearly all the other provinces as well. Ontario has its own foreign trade policy, the Maritimes their own economic development board, British Columbia its own foreign policy with respect to the Columbia River, while the Prairies are making foreign policy by means of wheat sales. The two areas of authority and power that, by a curious turn of fate, really matter in the contemporary world–control of natural resources and education–are in the hands of the provincial governments. This fact, plus the cultural fermentation brought about by immigration and a variety of other factors, a fermentation that does not exist only in Quebec, though it finds its greatest expression there, means that the entire country is undergoing a convulsion of regionalism of enormous consequence and potential. Anyone who thinks that it is only Quebec that is experiencing a revolution had better look again. To underestimate the currents of regional feeling abroad in the rest of the country, particularly in the West, is to make a serious mistake.

What this means is that this Royal Commission will, if it is wise and imaginative, in a large part perform a number of important functions of national government during its term. It will be, in some senses, the government. If it is unwise, hasty and unimaginative, it will simply contribute to the impotence of the national government, which, regardless of what party controls it, is doomed for a while to a caretaker role. The minority parties are already split regionally; the two major parties at the moment, themselves riven with regionalism, can only hang on. The vitality, the promise, the hopes and fears of our national life, can be, if *we* are wise and imaginative, found in the processes of this Royal Commission.

Therefore, how this Commission carries out its task, despite or perhaps because of, the striking vagueness of its formal direction, is of utmost importance. How we as citizens respond to it, aid it in this complex examination of our national life, is of equal importance. Never before has there been so great a challenge to educational and voluntary organizations, for it is only by means of voluntary co-operation and superb learning that any of its goals can be encountered.

The information already available concerning the preliminary meetings of the Commissioners and their staff is reasonably hopeful. It is apparent that the Commissioners are discussing at some length how to go about their task. None, not one of the goals of this Commission can be accomplished in a hurry, unless it is to convince the frantic that they are, or someone is, doing something. A Royal Commission which contents itself with a number of dramatic public hearings, and the publication of one or more impressive volumes of evidence, including even a number of empirical studies will be, in our opinion, a waste of energy and time. What needs to be changed does not for the most part lie within the realm of legislation, supposing the government were to act on any specific recommendation. (Usually the government that establishes the significant Royal Commissions in Canada is safely out of power by the time they report.) What needs to be changed is to be found only among attitudes and practices of individual Canadians and a variety of groups, and this can only happen by means of a lengthy, carefully fostered and maintained national discussion. This can only happen if what is needed is made clear—it certainly isn't clear now—and then tested, discussed and tested again. It can only be made clear by discussion and interchange. Therefore, the procedures of the Royal Commission must be themselves as educational as possible and must engage in debate and discussion as many elements and individuals within the Canadian population as possible. To our mind, the best model available for this Commission is that of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life concluded in Saskatchewan a few years ago. During its tenure the most assiduous effort was made to engage the population under examination, in the process, to create in fact a self-examination. We urge our readers to investigate that Commission in order to learn how the participating bodies assisted in the process.

In short, we believe that this Royal Commission must state a number of hypotheses, based wherever possible on empirical evidence and their own judgment, and then ask the co-operation of a variety of bodies, educational and otherwise, to help them test them, and to report their findings. This will mean the use of discussion documents, newspapers and magazines, open-line radio programs, television, and any other media that will provide some two-way communication with the Canadian public. It will mean at least two if not more rounds of public hearings from one end of the country to another. It will mean a much longer time than that envisaged by most members of Royal Commissions, and it will mean enduring a great deal of feckless but inescapable criticism for taking so long. We realize that we are asking a great deal from these men and women, but no more than the stakes surrounding their success or failure, which may be our own national existence.

From our side there is as much to do. At the very first we must make up our minds about what sort of procedure we think the Commission should undertake and then urge them tirelessly to do so. If we agree that it must be a careful, painstaking, involved process, then we must support them in doing it. We must remember that all Commissions are affected by the way representatives who appear before them behave. If we are content to provide statements of fixed, predetermined views with the assumption that the opposition, whatever it is, will do the same, then the Commission will be determined in this way. If we wish discussion, testing and reporting, then we must make our appearances and briefs take this form and provide the basis for the necessary exchange.

But this is not all, important as it is. Something else must happen first.

We are not convinced that many or any individuals or organizations in English-Canada have given this matter very much thought. By and large the attitude is one of maintaining a sort of injured silence and asking plaintively, "What is it that the French-Canadians want?" Nothing could be more futile or insulting. This attitude denies the very significance of the situation, for it refuses to acknowledge that what *we* want is also at stake, that what the country will be for all of us is the basic issue! So far, though little has been heard or sought from the West, we have behaved as though the question can be settled if only French-Canada will be clear about its wishes, and by a sort of administrative slight-of-hand. This is nonsense. It will not be settled without deep and profound changes in the way we behave, in the way we imagine Canada, and in the way we perceive ourselves. It is a question of what we want, and it is time we began to pursue this investigation, for this is fundamentally what the French want to hear. We have been behaving towards our French countrymen much in the same way we accuse the Americans of behaving towards us—by ignorance and indifference. When a more virtuous voice reaches us, even explosively, we respond with hurt and indignation. It's time we stopped. The British Empire may have been created in a fit of absent-mindedness, but it would be better if Canada were not destroyed that way.

The issues for us are real, compelling, and profound. They need argument, and it is time all of us, French included, began to argue. Hopefully, it will not be reduced to greater violence than has already occurred, but that fact is one of the matters at stake. There is a great deal of injustice to be righted, but that is only partly what really matters. There is a new "esprit" to be created for Canada; and that, and that alone, will make the difference. One of the missions of this Royal Commission is to reveal a mission for the country, a mission that cannot be either conceived or carried out without the participation of French and English-speaking, and all the other cultures that are waiting to be truly born in Canada.

It will be painful, and embarrassing, tiresome, and exhilarating, hopeful, and desperate, all at the same time, but the path is open and has already been embarked upon.

In the *Age of Nationalism*, Hans Kohn writes, "It has always been easier for men to sacrifice their lives and even their fortunes than to abandon their habitual ways of thought and feeling, their prejudices and traditions. To think and feel 'nationally' had been ingrained in man's nature by the end of the nineteenth century, it demanded great wisdom and courage to see that after World War I, nationalism was not enough." The nineteenth century comes perhaps late to Canada, and it comes in the technological welter of the twentieth, but the context is clear enough. Anyone reading the European comments on this situation, and such reading is to be encouraged, has already taken a step toward greater understanding of our internal situation. All these currents of intellect, culture, commerce, and race must be embodied in the briefs that even the smallest organization makes to this Royal Commission, and in the approaches that the officers of such organizations make to its members. Opinion and consideration are necessary and important, but parochialism and prejudice will not do. For all of us, perhaps forever, the condition is *pas comme les autres.*

The Meaning of English Canada

SCOTT SYMONS (1966)

"The Meaning of English Canada", is not phrased as a question; and for good reason. Because English Canada does have a distinct meaning; it does have a distinct and a distinguished civilization of its own. This meaning is enhanced by the association within the Canadian Confederation, of French and English-speaking communities.

Perhaps we may best see this in three stages. Firstly, we will have to recognize that today English Canadians themselves do not recognize their own remarkable achievements; nor do we seem to have enough leaders capable of expressing those achievements. Secondly, there is a perfectly clear reason why this meaning of English Canada has temporarily been so thoroughly obscured and even mutilated, just as there is a reason why we have so few leaders today. Thirdly, a careful study of the continuous development of English Canada does reveal a distinctive and meaningful community–reflected in all aspects of our life. Tentatively, perhaps, we may best define that meaning by the phrase "sophisticated democracy".

1) The first of these points, the failure of English Canada to recognize and use its own values and achievements, can be demonstrated clearly by contrasting English and French-speaking Canada today. French Canada is currently living its "agonizing re-appraisal". The press calls it a silent revolution; but given its main instrument–the mass media–it should really be called the "blabulent" revolution. The important fact is that French Canada knows what it wants, knows how to get it, and is well on the way to achieving its goal, quite literally, regardless of English Canada, and often in spite of English Canada.

We witness in French Canada what is perhaps the most talented, the most purposeful outburst of creative energy anywhere in the Western World today. (It makes the New Frontier group of the United States look like a posthumous Edwardian garden party!) English Canadians should be proud of this re-birth of French Canadian culture. It is a superb achievement enhancing Canadians. One may hope that it will inspire English Canada, because in contrast the English Canadian seems just a little like Rip Van Winkle–waking up and wondering where he is. In effect the very bewilderment of English Canadians faced with this French

Canadian "renaissance" only underlines the failure of English Canada to be sufficiently aware either of itself or of Canada as a whole.

This English Canadian failure to appreciate its own culture as well as that of French Canada is shown in another way: in the search for the Canadian Identity. In the past few years it has become highly respectable to set out in quest for this, in the same way as Medieval Knights set out to find the Holy Grail, or a piece of the True Cross. In a few instances the search is serious. Professor W. L. Morton is an inspiring example, as is Professor Donald Creighton. But in general it may be said that the tone of the search rings false.

The fact is that the very search for the Canadian Identity—all the frantic scurry of it—suggests that we are looking for something that is not there; or at best something that has been lost and may yet be found. Moreover, if we acknowledge that French Canada was never more sure of its own meaning, then we must admit that the search for the Canadian Identity is really an English Canadian search. That is, the search for the Canadian Identity really reveals an ignorance of English Canadians about themselves and about Canada as a whole.

But we do not have to look even this far to prove that English Canadians fail to understand their own meaning. The brutal fact is before us that we urgently need leaders who can gain the serious attention and confidence of English Canada. Two examples suffice: the first in journalism, the second in politics.

It is surely self-evident that there is at present no editor of an English Canadian newspaper who gains the serious attention of English Canada, let alone of Canada as a whole. Much less is there an editor of the stature of a John W. Dafoe. Even worse, English Canadian newspapers have in many cases simply forfeited the rights of the fourth estate. Who, for example, will seriously defend the editorial record of English Canadian Montreal newspapers in the past fifteen years?

This same lack of leadership seen in English Canadian newspapers is self-evident in our national politics. Never has a national government been given such confidence by Canadians as the Conservative government elected in 1958. Yet it could not find sufficient men of calibre to stay afloat. It literally sank under poor leadership. At the same time the leadership of the Liberal party was so uninspiring, so unrelated to Canadian aspirations, that for all its clever and its able members it could barely unseat a completely demoralized Conservative party. Quite simply the Liberal leaders, like the Conservative leaders, have been utterly incapable of providing the country with a sense of purpose and of national direction. The result is that the Canadian people have wisely elected an inter-regnum administration, while patiently awaiting a positive and meaningful statement from any political party that can give it. In the meantime Canada is administered by the political action arm of the Canadian Civil Service! There is only one conclusion to derive from these facts. English Canada does not know itself; does not recognize the richness of its own achievements. Nor does it have leaders to articulate its meaning.

2) We can readily prove the English Canadian failure to appreciate its own meaning. We can *also* explain how English Canadians have temporarily lost sight of this meaning; firstly, because a plausible but negative version of Canadian nationalism concealed this erosion of meaning. Secondly, because the type of leader English Canada was producing with this negative nationalism was incapable of using the English Canadian meaning in a constructive way.

Firstly, then, what is this negative nationalism? It has so captured the Canadian mind that it might best be termed the Authorized Version of Canadianism. Its title could really be "from colony to nation"; because it is the naive story of Canadian growth from mere divided colonies to mighty nation-state. It is the history of two North American cultures slowly winning independence from British political domination, and today from American economic domination. The rebellions of 1837 were the turning point, leading to Responsible Government, Confederation itself, and thereafter to that sturdy Canadian autonomy which finally evolutionized the Empire into the Commonwealth-that-Canada-made—a society of free communities united by the invisible bonds. You can hear the unctuous voices rolling off these phrases, culminating, of course, in the creation of Canadian Citizenship in 1946, Canadian Governors-General, a Nobel Peace Prize as palm, and now, at long last, the Centenary in 1967.

This Authorized Canadian sermon we all know by heart. It can be readily recognized as an integral part of a theory of history that dominated nineteenth century Europe. This is the Whig interpretation of history, discredited over a generation ago in England—and thereafter, of course, still persistently upheld in Canada. It is a simple, optimistic theory about the inevitable progress of man. According to this theory, every day in every way we all get better and better; soon we will all have two television sets each. . . .

Where does it lead? Let us take but two examples. Firstly, the militant ignorance that persists between Canadian East and West. This is not simply a question of distance. It is also a question of carefully cultivated prejudices, prejudices that often seem used and abused by many of our leaders. What I mean by this is the East thinking of the West as a bunch of cowboy yahoos who find redemption in wheat sales, while the West thinks of Easterners as a group of filthy capitalists living off Western resources and European ideas. These images are ridiculous; but they have won and lost national elections, including the last one.

This real breach between East and West is itself overlooked because of another current Canadian split: that between English and French Canada. Presumably the great achievement of Authorized Canadian nationalism was that it healed the wounds of French and English Canada; that is, it was the politics of constructive Canadian compromise. Time has now proven this to be the greatest of Canadian lies. This great Canadian compromise has only compromised Canada. Today the English Canadian literally seems to have compromised himself right out of a meaningful existence, while French Canadians have never misunderstood English Canada more completely, nor respected it less. . . .

In this light it is easy to see how English Canadian meaning has been hidden and hurt. Firstly, under an outdated theory of Canadian nationalism. Secondly, by a kind of man who to gain his immediate political and material ends rejected the fundamental purpose of English Canada—the formation in North America of a quality civilization, distinct in many ways from that of the United States.

3) If we can recognize this temporary lack of meaning in English Canada today, and if we can also see how this meaning was lost, then we are two-thirds of the way towards a rediscovery of the meaning of English Canada. It only remains to study the common grounds of the English Canadian experience, common throughout all regions of Canada, and then to appreciate the positive achievement of English Canada, whether it be in politics, or business, arts, or letters. If we examine the development of English Canada, from the earliest times to the present day, there is one factor which recurs as a common theme. That is the establishment of an ordered, stable, well organized community, always with the sense of responsible participation in a larger whole. It does not matter whether we are talking of the Maritimes with its early New England settlers, followed by the military order of the British fleet and then by the Loyalists; or of the English-speaking sections of Quebec and Ontario, with their basic Loyalist influx supported by the British administration; or of the Canadian West with its story of settlement following the Royal North-West Mounted Police and the growth of the railways. In each case there was a controlled frontier. . . .

This common tradition of law and order, of essential decency in a frontier situation, gives us the key to the meaning of English Canada, of all the English-speaking Canadas. This frontier situation was essentially similar to that of the American tradition. But it was treated in an entirely different way. It was subjected to European standards and values. The result was what one may term an "immediate civilization" in democratic circumstances. That is, English Canada has consistently been groping its way, instinctively, towards a new kind of community and a new kind of personality which may be defined by the term "sophisticated democracy".

This distinctive development can be seen in *every* aspect of the English Canadian civilization. In politics, it is seen in the system of Parliament itself, adapted from European practices to a North American federal situation. Parliament is itself an important symbol of the English Canadian tradition of frank dignity and orderly discussion. Indeed, the record shows that any national party which flagrantly abused this sense of Parliamentary order promptly lost an election. Today the contrast between our Parliament in Ottawa and the American political "Boss"—direct symbolic descendant of the two-gun man—makes this point even more meaningful. In fact the very Parliament buildings themselves in Ottawa reveal the distinctive English Canadian blend of European traditions, freely adapted and here transformed into the most striking Gothic revival group in the New World, naturally set in a typically grand Canadian landscape.

The parallel continues in business, where a combination of private enterprise and public corporations, unites freedom with order in a distinctively Canadian approach.

We see the same in all of the English Canadian arts: in architecture, where our churches unite eternal styles of the Western world with Canadian stone and timbers in a straight-forward and unique way. Nowhere else in the world, including New England, is there anything quite the same as our country Gothic churches of the nineteenth century, uniting the North American with the European in a harmonious way. In the architecture of our homes the same is true. The polychrome brick houses with their fusion of Georgian classic form and Victorian decor are another reflection of this specific English Canadian culture. Their interior decor is as unique to the trained eye as the American Statue of Liberty. The student of Canadiana will find that the marriage of local woods, such as maple, butternut and pine, with European craftsmanship and quality produced, over a hundred years ago, furniture that anticipated the finest modern Scandinavian design; while in art, a continuing achievement, from the earliest eighteenth century topographers of the Maritimes, through the Group of Seven, imposes order and form upon the massive grandeur of untamed Canadian nature.

Finally, in literature, we have the same clear statement about the meaning of English Canada. Thomas Haliburton's *Sam Slick*, written a century-and-a-half ago in Halifax, is aptly enough the first perceptive study of the American. It is done from a viewpoint that is distinctly North American, a viewpoint that is still distinctly Canadian. So, too, Stephen Leacock, in Ontario, combines an earthy, democratic humour with eternal sophisticated cultural values. Today, voices from the West adapt this same theme, voices such as Gabrielle Roy, or W. O. Mitchell in *Who Has Seen the Wind*.

There *is* a common culture to all the English-speaking Canadas. It is a fusion of North American democratic frankness with the traditional values of the Western world. This has been a process of integration. In contrast to the United States, it has been a process of consolidation rather than revolution, of enrichment as against rejection. Even our Canadian rebels—Joseph Howe, Papineau, Mackenzie and Riel—wanted to embrace these values, while the vast majority of Canadians have consistently and democratically stated their desire for this positive Canadian community.

This adds up to a type of citizenship that one may term "enhanced Canadianism," or "Big Canadianism". Each of us, as an English-speaking Canadian, wants to make his culture part of a universal experience. We want to participate responsibly in our universal heritage. This is not mere words. Two world wars have confirmed our determination and our sense of a larger humanity. In short, not only does the English Canadian have meaning, but he has a precise and visible meaning that is drawing him towards a new kind of man and a new kind of state, both modern in the best sense of the term. Indeed both perhaps ahead of their time.

The striking fact here is that this development of a positive English Canadianism exactly parallels the historic development of French Canada. In French Canada we see the same rich tradition of order and of continuity. There is the same desire to share in a world-wide heritage. In the case of the French Canadian this is the universal French civilization of the French language community of nations. This is a heritage which parallels that of the English-speaking Canadian in the Commonwealth of nations. Today more and more French Canadians are reaching out to grasp this heritage.

Thus a positive and frank acceptance of ourselves as English-speaking Canadians, that what *is already* there within us is both essential to the well-being of English Canada and to the creative understanding of English and French-speaking Canadians together. A meaningful English Canada today is the key to the wellbeing of Canada as a whole. Canada *is* a bicultural community, and indeed a multicultural one. At the present time Canadian success or failure—indeed the very survival of Canada—depends upon the capacity of English-speaking Canadians to recognize that they already *do* have a positive culture, just as it depends upon their capacity to communicate that fact in a thoughtful way to French-speaking Canadians.

Our time is short. It but remains for us, French and English-speaking Canadians alike, to know ourselves. The reward is high. For ours is the history and the people and the land of Canada. Ours is the Empire of La Nouvelle France, gaudily guarded by Louisbourg, gilded outpost of the most cultured court in the history of Western civilization. Ours is the elegy and the epic of the morning and the mourning on the plains of a farmer called Abraham, storybook battle with heroes from the Holy Grail. Ours is the courage of the French-Canadians at Chateauguay, fighting for homeland, rebuffing thus the sidewalks of New York. Ours is the Battle of the Atlantic, grim glory of Halifax; and the landing at Dieppe—sombre rehearsal for the liberation of the Old World by the New. Ours are those blood-rich poppies that glow in the Fields of Flanders, a heart from every Canadian hearth. Ours are the victories of the "Van Dooz"; and ours the modern chivalry of the Knights of the Air; and ours the gut-taut dash of those Canadians who spat fire in the Battle of Britain that they knew instinctively to be the battle for civilization, while the rest of the world slept, or argued constitutional codicils.

Ours is the history and the people from the first Canada claim of Sir Humphrey Gilbert full four centuries back, through to those rare men who, with Champlain, irrepressibly established "l'Ordre de bon temps"—the Order of Good Cheer—just because that Canadian winter was so searing and dreary. Ours, too, the continental buccaneerings of the Le Moynes—Paul Bunyans with purpose and panache. Ours the awesome austerities of first Bishop Laval, and the purple patronage of Bishop St. Vallier—princes of Canada's Catholic Church. Ours that Western recipe left by Samuel Hearne for young spring deer stew with green moss. And the memory of Bishop Mountain canoeing the careening St. Lawrence, complete with Blackberry Brandy to ward off evil in its lesser forms. Ours the saintliness of Jeanne Mance who first nursed America full two centuries before Florence Nightingale discovered the Crimea. And the Canada-clutched verve of Anne Langton who sang her new land in a Gothic chateau built boldly on granite and ice. Ours is the wry relevant mirth of Stephen Leacock confessing English Canada once and for ever. And the frank fun of Eye Opener Bob, who brought the sharp clean Prairie breeze, bright whistling like Meadowlark, into Canadian homes. Ours is the wise, sad face of Sir John A... who never did die, and who knew Canada as it could never be known again, and who loved it as it should someday be.

Renaissance in French Speaking Canada

NORBERT PREFONTAINE (1966)

Canada has come a long way in implementing the dream which the Fathers had a century ago but admittedly, she still has some way to go before Canadians achieve a full measure of common national purpose or motivation or identity. The question I have asked myself must be related to wider Canadian issues such as fiscal relations, bilingualism and biculturalism, co-operative federalism and general economic trends. These are very much a part of the present upheaval in Quebec. They are also very much a part of the pre-occupations of other regions and provinces. In Quebec, however, there is an added dimension to any question which has Canada-wide effects and applications: that of Canadianism "en français", in other words the difficulty, for the Canadian who happens to be French-speaking, of identifying with the whole of the country.

In order to try and circumscribe avenues of solution to the question "What is it French Canada wants which French Canada doesn't already have?" I propose briefly to examine three basic measurable realities: the present texture and quality of the Canadian population, current happenings in Quebec and the reaction of English-speaking Canada, as seen through editorial comments, to the requests, demands or ultimatums flowing out of Quebec. We shall try to relate these three elements to one another, to their effects on Canada as a whole and to their effects on individual Canadians. I, for one, am deeply and sincerely convinced that the answer to the present Canadian unease lies with each individual citizen. I have every respect for constitutional experts and have no doubt that we could enact amendments to the British North America Act which might facilitate relationships between the central government and the provincial governments as well as between English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Canada and perhaps cause the whole country to move forward more rapidly. I am constantly reminded however that the spirit of the Constitution is much more important than the letter of the Constitution. Knowledgeable good will, channelled properly, could do marvels within the existing framework to bring the overall picture into clearer focus and to ease the tensions of every day operational relationships.

Since we live in a democracy, it is of the utmost importance that the individual should take an interest in the questions confronting Canada, assume them as questions of immediate concern to him – which they are – affecting his own person and his own family and his own community. The most enlightened leader can only apply those measures which are politically viable. In other words, unless public opinion is ready to accept the progressive legislation which Canadian leaders may be prepared to offer, such measures will be defeated. I am sure you can all think of excellent ideas which have been proposed for the development of your own community or your own province and which have died a natural death for lack of public support.

It strikes me that even though we live in Canada we know very little about the texture of the present Canadian population. If one studies Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures for the 1961 Census, one characteristic immediately strikes home: by ethnic origin, the Canadian population is split three ways in roughly equal groups: a third is of British origin (English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh), a third is of French origin and a third is non-English-non-French by origin. On the language level we have two groups: two-thirds of the population is English-speaking and a third is French-speaking. It is very important that we should bear these figures in mind because the third component group of the Canadian population – that which is English-speaking on the "official" language level but whose cultural tradition is neither English nor French – is just as fully Canadian as the other two groups and increasingly assuming its role in the shaping of policies on the national level. The descendants of the two so-called "founding peoples" of Canada tend to forget, in their claims and counter-claims as to who was here first or who won the battle of the Plains of Abraham, that, of every three Canadians, one is not emotionally involved in this discussion but otherwise very much concerned and interested in the orientation being given Canada. If we wish to view human Canada in a realistic perspective, we must constantly bear in mind that the English-speaking majority is not a monolith. Close to fifty per cent of its members are not of English culture or tradition or heritage and therefore cannot and will not react in the same fashion to issues which are understandably very close to the heart of the person whose tradition and background and culture as well as language are English.

Another facet of Canadian population realities which we tend to forget is that French-speaking Canada is not confined to the sole province of Quebec. There are very few arguments which can ruffle my French-speaking feathers quite as fast as the suggestion that a true blue French-speaking Canadian must hail from the Quebec "reserve". I must confess I am a bootleg French-speaking Canadian because I did learn French in a public school in Manitoba at a period during which it was illegal to do so. But who is to say that bootleg products are of lesser quality than the legal brand? Here again, if you look at the DBS figures you find that French-speaking Canada spreads from sea to sea. The totals for all of Canada are as follows: over five million Canadians have French as their mother tongue. Three and a half million Canadians speak French only and five and a half million Canadians are French by origin. Outside of the Province of Quebec then, you have nearly a million Canadians whose mother tongue is French, a quarter million who speak French only out of a French-by-origin population of one and a half million. If one were to represent graphically on a map of Canada the location of the French-speaking population, through different shadings of the same colour, in other words represent the population through intensity of colour rather than through numbers, one could see that French-speaking Canada really spreads from sea to sea: you would have very little colour —very light pastel shades in B.C. and Newfoundland—but quite a bit of colour in Nova Scotia and P.E.I., a half-tone in New Brunswick, a full tone in Quebec, clumpings of colour in eastern and northern Ontario, in southern Manitoba, discreet tones in Saskatchewan, mainly around Gravelbourg and Saskatoon. In Alberta, you find quite a bit of colour around Saint-Paul, Edmonton and the Peace River region. One can draw all sorts of conclusions from the relative concentration of the French-speaking population outside of Quebec in distinctly recognizable areas. One which immediately comes to mind is that of schools and other institutions of learning. There are also obvious economic and sociological patterns which one can develop. One can also see the French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec as so many openings for the French-speaking population of Quebec on the whole of Canada.

Bearing these population statistics in mind, let us briefly scan the current happenings in the Province of Quebec seen as the core of French-speaking Canada. I think it is fair to say that the renaissance which is being felt in Quebec now and which permeates absolutely all fields of endeavours is quite literally a coming of age. There is a point at which the individual feels somewhat ill at ease in the traditional framework of religious, social and economic behaviour. Before assuming such traditional patterns and making them his own standards, the individual questions, experiments, assesses. This process of examination channels all the individual's energy and focusses his attention with such priority on his own self that at times it makes him oblivious of his surroundings and can cause strains in the relationship within the family. The process is very seldom an easy or pleasant one, but given time and understanding, the individual eventually reaches a point of stabilization, a point of consciousness, a relative degree of harmony with his own self and his immediate surroundings. In other words, to a high degree, the process is self-corrective.

Much the same pattern is discernible in the awakening which is causing French-speaking Canadians as a group to reassess the traditional standards, primarily within their own institutions but, of necessity their relationship to overall Canadian trends and to the Federal Government. In this light it is fair to assume that much of the current crisis is self-corrective and that Quebeckers will by themselves come out of it stronger and better Canadians—more conscious of their own values. Not all of the answers lie with French-speaking Canada alone however. Unless the other partner in Confederation takes an understanding interest, things will probably be a lot worse before they get better.

If you have been exposed to life in the Province of Quebec for any length of time, you've been struck by its bubbly cultural quality. Most any day of the week, there is a profusion of productions from which to choose: live theatre, concerts, displays of paintings and sculpture, lectures, conferences, seminars, new books being launched, etc. This is not only true of the larger population centres of Quebec. There is literally an explosion of summer theatre centres and of art centres throughout the province. This did not just automatically happen: Quebec was the first province to establish a provincial Arts Council and is the only province to have a Department of Cultural Affairs.

On the economic level, recent decisions such as the nationalization of hydro resources—which English-speaking provinces had in the majority of cases applied a long time ago—and the establishment of a steel production complex on the south shore of the St. Lawrence point to the constructive progressive thinking which is reshaping the province. Both measures were implemented by a party which came to power on the slogan "Maîtres chez-nous"—"Masters in our own home". Traditionally for a variety of reasons Quebec has had a severe problem of unemployment. Very normally and naturally Quebeckers are preoccupied with their own economic betterment. I have no doubt that the majority of Quebec electors who have brought the current provincial government to power are much more interested in task-oriented policies such as nationalization of hydro resources, establishment of a steel industry, development of economic planning than they are in the number of vice-presidents who happen to be French-speaking who sit with Messrs. Gordon or MacGregor. Their main concern is that of any other Canadian: to have the opportunity to better their own condition so as to improve the lot of their sons and daughters.

Social patterns are changing very rapidly in Quebec. You have all heard of Bill 60, the New Deal in education, the primary effect of which is to transfer the responsibility in matters educational from an appointed body to a Minister of the Crown. Trends in education which had long since been discernible in Quebec are now coming into sharp focus: the shift from liberal arts training to applied sciences and technological disciplines.

All these factors and many others into which we should delve to do justice to the subject under review—e.g. the stresses and strains of the change from a predominantly rural society to the demands of an industrial society and the influence of cultural patterns from the United States—factors which are common to all provinces in varying degrees—have their effect on the political scene in Quebec. Traditionally, politics have been a dead-serious issue among French-speaking Canadians. When one looks at the spectrum of Quebec political opinion, one gets a rather complete picture from far left to far right. If one analyses the statements of Quebec political leaders there is one factor which immediately stands out: all parties are requesting revision of the province's relationship with Ottawa. It is no longer politically viable to propound the virtues of the existing agreement. The province is very definitely on the move and as some of the answers to the questions it is asking lie with Canada, the central government is very much a part of the political aspect of French-speaking Canada's renaissance; whether one looks to statements from the party in power, or from Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, or from the socialist speakers or from the separatist group, the only variation is one of degree: the further away from exercise of power you get, the more radical the demands are likely to be. Shrill voices have a way of making news. It is likely that the Quebec voice which you have heard most often is that of the aggressive 13 per cent separatist element. Let us look then briefly at Quebec separatist theory. The central theme is that state and nation should coincide. In other words, the "State of Quebec" to use separatist terminology, should have full exclusive control of all decisions affecting it. In order to fully blossom out—so the theory goes—a culture needs complete autonomy in all phases of its activity, so as to be in a position to articulate services geared to its own constituents. In the Quebec context of course this means that services articulated by the "state" should be articulated for the French majority. Implementation of this theory provincially presents no spectacular difficulty. Indeed to a large measure the difficulty comes in the relationship on the national level with the English-speaking majority where the Quebec representative immediately feels that what the English-speaking majority wants is also that state and nation should coincide.

One conclusion appears to me to be abundantly clear, i.e. Canada will not become, it cannot become bicultural or bilingual or bivalent unless the majority wants it. In other words, unless Canadians are prepared to fully implement and lend day-to-day reality to the basic principle to which they say they hold, that of unity in diversity as opposed to unity in conformity.

But what does this mean to realistically implement unity in diversity? It means that the English-speaking majority must be prepared to give this basic principle more than lip service. In other words, it must be prepared to automatically recognize French-speaking Canada as part of overall Canada and assume it as such. If we agree on the premise on which the Fathers agreed 100 years ago—that the French-speaking element and the English-speaking element should come together to build a country bigger and better than each of its component parts—then in pure objective logic it follows that the physical projection of overall Canada which one can see in Ottawa and in services provided by the Federal Government both within Canada and overseas must be recognizable to both groups. When you as an English-speaking Canadian pay your tax dollar into the federal tax pot, you fully expect to get service in your own language from Federal Civil Service departments and when the Federal Government establishes Crown Corporations, you fully expect to be served by these Corporations in your own language. When the French-speaking Canadian puts his bilingual dollar into the tax pot, he also fully expects service "en français". When he doesn't, he cannot identify to Canada, he cannot fully belong because he gets the impression that he is living in someone else's house and paying for services tailored to someone else's needs.

People often tell me that French-speaking Canadians must have a special talent for languages. They don't. To them, learning the other official language of Canada is a question of bread and butter—a rather effective motivation. To the English-speaking Canadian, French is somewhat of a luxury commodity. It can be a very useful and agreeable currency on the social and cultural planes, but it cannot be realistically described as an economic necessity. Unless, of course, one is thinking in terms of joining the Civil Service, the Diplomatic Corps or of going into politics, where the other official language will be an added asset.

Another factor which is important and urgent is that communications be improved. Not only between the three basic component groups of Canadian society which I mentioned earlier, not only between the two main language groups but just as urgently within the same language groups, between regions. The Canada of tomorrow will be that which the

Canadians of today will make it. Let the choice be an enlightened and knowledgeable one.

In final analysis then, to answer the question which I asked earlier, what French Canada wants which it doesn't presently have or which it doesn't feel it presently has is full-fledged recognition and acceptance as an equal partner in Confederation sharing in the decisions affecting Canada as a whole and doing so "en français". It wants to roll up its sleeves and go to work for a Canada to which it can identify without any difficulty.

This cannot and will not happen unless

a) the majority wants to protect the minority culture across the whole of Canada and cause it to blossom out in a way in which the majority too can take pride and joy;

b) the majority wins the confidence of the minority;

c) the third component group—that which is English-speaking but not of English cultural tradition—recognizes the historical, constitutional and institutional precedents which clearly distinguish the French minority from the other ethnic minorities in English-speaking provinces.

Here then is where the qualities in which we pride ourselves as Canadians—those of understanding and tolerance—are being put to the test. And it is for the individual Canadian to give the answer. I have every confidence that Canadians will choose to move their country forward as the realists which they are—knowing full well that he who has two dollars is one dollar richer than he who has only one—by lending practical every day significance to the basic principle of unity in diversity as opposed to that of unity in conformity.

Canada needs each one of us, and it needs us shorn of our preconceived ideas so that we may give it the leadership it needs before time runs out on us.

(3) Automation Technology and Leisure

Changes in technology and patterns of leisure were matters of debate throughout the decade.

Automation and the Changing Meaning of Work

JOHN C. McDONALD (1960)

Why is it that what the thinking society does about its problems usually turns out to be about twenty years out of date? It is because almost all the thinking is about current problems with little thought or planning directed to the future. By the time that such thinking makes an impact on policy, the problems themselves have often changed. As long as the tempo of technical and social change was fairly slow, this lag was not too serious. So far it has always been possible to mount crash programs of one kind or another to pick up the pieces and patch society together again. But in the sort of world into which we are now beginning to move, this lack of what the late C. Wright Mills referred to as 'sociological imagination' could prove disastrous. It is of crucial importance that we formulate the broad fundamental principles of our plan for utilizing the new technology now. It should then be possible to implement this plan in several stages, cushioning the impact of automation, and allowing us to make a successful transition between two different kinds of worlds. Without such a plan, automation may produce a culture shock so severe that it may traumatize us to the point of social paralysis.

What is automation and what does it hold in store for our economic and social system? Like mechanization, automation is a type of technological change. The fundamental scientific and technical break-throughs that make automation possible have already occurred. They took place during and immediately following World War II. The three major elements in automation are transfer machinery, closed-loop control, and the electronic computer.

Transfer machinery is sometimes called 'Detroit automation' because the most dramatic innovation took place on the engine block lines of the automobile industry. In some ways, this is the least revolutionary development in the field of automation in the sense that it is almost more an advanced form of mechanization than true automation. It is a type of equipment which combined with multi-purpose machine tools can create an automated assembly line. Manpower is no longer required to position materials for successive operations or to manipulate and control the machines, but only to intervene to replace worn tools and conduct regular maintenance and repairs.

The second breakthrough–closed-loop control–is often called 'feedback'. The main invention that made feedback control possible was the servo mechanism. These systems of communication and control vary widely in their reliance on electric, electronic, hydraulic, pneumatic and electro-mechanical instrumentation. What they have in common, however, is that they are self-regulating systems which make human intervention unnecessary. The most commonly quoted example is the ordinary household thermostat, but such control systems in industry may be very sophisticated, automatically regulating relationships between temperature, humidity, viscosity, etc., within very fine tolerances. At the moment, these developments have progressed furthest in the continuous-flow industries such as petroleum refining.

Perhaps the most dramatic of the technical breakthroughs is the development of the electronic computer.

The really revolutionary thing that distinguishes automation from previous kinds of technological change is not so much the new equipment but, as John Diebold has pointed out, a completely different philosophy of production. Mechanization has primarily been a question of inventing and adapting machinery to perform operations traditionally carried out by human labour. Automation concentrates on the redesign of end-products, the substitution of materials, and the layout of the production process so that the full potential of the new technology may be exploited.

Students of automation looking forward to the years ahead tend to fall into one of two camps. There are the optimists and the pessimists. The optimists argue that automation is really nothing new and that like all technological progress, while causing a certain amount of dislocation in the short run, will eventually result in more jobs, greater productivity and prosperity, and a combination of a higher material standard of living and more leisure for all groups in the society. They suggest that automation will generate whole new industries and a host of new occupations and employment opportunities that we haven't even thought of, that an increasing population will provide adequate consumer demand to assimilate the increased production, and that whatever slack automation may cause in employment in primary production and manufacturing will be taken up by the rapidly expanding service occupations.

To cap off this appealing glimpse into the future promised by automation, the optimists point out that the majority of jobs in our mechanized society are dull, dirty and undignified and that it is precisely these unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that automation will eliminate. The result will be a reintegration of task, an upgrading of skill and corresponding rise in monetary reward, while challenge, interest and satisfaction will redeem work from its present status of a nasty but necessary evil. And finally, if such an automated Utopia is a bit too much to expect, we really have no choice anyway because we must explore the potential of automation in order to increase our industrial productivity and gross national product, raise the over-all rate of our economic growth, and compete successfully in world markets.

The pessimists view our automated society of the future in an altogether different light. They reason that automation by definition means that society's work will be done by machines instead of men. The result will be widespread unemployment and human misery. Unemployment by depressing consumer demand will trigger a downward economic cycle that will make the depression of the 1930's pale by comparison. They argue that automation will relieve the bulk of the labour force from the killing tedium of routine, repetitive work only to cast them into the far more desperate economic and psychological plight of unemployment.

Responsibility and power will become concentrated in the hands of a scientific and engineering elite with a monopoly on the crucial knowledge and know-how and this will sound the death knell of democracy. For the relatively small number of workers required to operate the automated system, the combination of tedium and tension involved in monitoring dials and waiting for breakdowns to occur may prove more intolerable than the assembly line or the continuous moving belt. The deadliness of the job content will only be exceeded by the schedule according to which the work will have to be performed. The huge capital investment in an automated system, combined with the continuous nature of the process, will dictate work on shifts around the clock. With shiftworking will come the peptic ulcers, nervous breakdowns, marital break-ups, and withdrawal from family and community participation which are its natural accompaniments.

Finally, the pessimists argue that in the unlikely event that we are able to find some mechanism other than work for pay by which to distribute purchasing power to the non-working majority, the result of automation will still prove a disaster for a population unprepared for leisure. Leisure time will simply precipitate a relapse into apathy and anomie—a sort of beer and television culture approximating the bread and circuses society that characterized the decline and collapse of Roman society.

In this controversy, I find myself either an optimistic pessimist or a pessimistic optimist—I am not sure which. The decades ahead could prove the prognosis of either school of thought to have been correct. The important point is that automation, like any other technology, is morally neutral. The effects of automation on our society are going to depend entirely on how we decide to use it.

Our experience with mechanization and limited forms of automation thus far tends, on balance, to support the optimist's position.

This should not, of course, be interpreted to mean that the process of technological change occurs without causing serious dislocation for individuals and groups. From the point of view of the first hand melter whose sixth sense as to just when to pour the molten steel has been superseded by instrumentation, or the middle-aged female clerical supervisor unable to learn computer programming, technological change may be every bit as shattering as the invention of the tractor was for the village blacksmith. Whole occupational groups such as older workers and unskilled young people dropping out of school and failing to find jobs are particularly vulnerable to the impact of technological change. Each of the people adversely affected may be a family breadwinner or an important contributor to the family income and their problems, both economic and non-economic, if unrelieved, will sooner or later contribute to the case-load of the social worker.

Being morally neutral, the effects of automation will depend entirely on how we decide to direct and utilize it. Unlike the utilitarian economists, I don't believe in the operation of an unseen economic hand directing such a force toward the inevitable attainment of the greatest good for the greatest number. The aspect of automation that disturbs me most is that far short of having a long-range plan to exploit automation to build 'the good society', we haven't really begun to study and understand the fundamental economic and social implications of automation, or for that matter even to talk about the problems and possibilities at a reasonably informed level. Both as individuals and as a society we seem to be confused about our identity and our destiny. We appear to have no consensus of conviction or commitment about our social goals. The result is that there is no positive social context into which to fit the controversy over automation.

It seems to me that in our secular society we have tried to make economic instrumentalities such as economic growth, industrial productivity, and a high material standard of living serve as our goals. Surely, it is time we returned to our senses and affirmed that as long as a society is going to be made up of human beings, the success or failure of that society must be judged in terms of meaning and satisfaction in the lives of its members. This is not to deprecate the importance of economic growth and a decent material standard of living but simply to put them in their correct perspective as factors contributing to human development and well-being.

The upside-downness of our contemporary value system is bound to land us in an even more serious situation if we approach automation suffering from the distorted conception that human beings are to be manipulated and adjusted to the requirements of the technology and economic system rather than committed to the policy that automation must be controlled and directed to the enrichment of the quality of human living.

The second main theme that I would like to develop is that, in a work-oriented society such as ours, there are basic psychological and sociological reasons that explain these obsolescent economic pre-occupations. By tracing the development of the social and psychological meaning of work through from traditional society to its role in urban, industrialized society, it will become apparent that our contemporary social system, values and patterns of behaviour are conditioned by work. By making our current concept of work obsolete, the new forces released by automation may pose a direct threat to the function and status of the individual and, hence, challenge our whole social system and structure of values.

Anyone who doubts that the institution of work is the essential heartbeat of our contemporary social system should pause to consider the source from which his function and status in society derive. For example, when a new family moves into the neighbourhood, the wife will invariably be asked—'What does your husband do?' The question is probably rhetorical enough in the sense that the questioner may have little knowledge of or interest in the difference in job content between research metallurgy and the operation of a turret lathe. But at the social level the question is of direct pertinence. The answer provides a social benchmark against which the couple can be measured in terms of approximate income, social status and the complicated system of marginal social deferences which may be expected or must be vouchsafed. In practical terms, it means whether the husbands are potential golf partners, whether the wives will entertain one another over morning coffee, and whether the children of the two families will be encouraged to regard each other as playmate peers.

To make it possible to interpret the way in which work affects our other institutions and governs our social dynamics, the backdrop of our structure of values must be sketched in. The value system of a society consists of a relatively stable, congruent constellation of goals, about which there is a rather wide consensus among individuals and groups. These goals condition and support the motivation and striving of individuals and dictate appropriate attitudes and norms of behaviour. The dominant value in our secular society is the acquisition of material wealth (or, more accurately, the acquisition of those material artifacts and symbols of wealth that we call a high standard of living). Other important goals, such as power or prestige, tend to be derived from and congruent with the central goal. When we speak of a work-centred society, therefore, we mean that work is the main avenue toward the attainment of a larger measure of the central value. Unlike most primitive or traditional societies where both social status and occupational function are determined by ascription, contemporary society is 'open', at least in theory, in the sense that elevation to high status and material reward comes through achievement in one's occupation.

The dynamics of contemporary society, therefore, revolve about the achievement of upward social mobility which is, in turn, dependent upon upward occupational mobility. In the 'open' society, there can be no standing still, no niche, either occupational or social, where the individual may rest content in the knowledge that his personal equation of ability, effort and reward has been attained. The pressure for upward occupational striving is not a narrow middle-class phenomenon. It extends through all groups in our society, the concept of success being necessarily translated by the majority of working people to apply rather narrowly to the accumulation of middle-class status symbols and great emphasis placed on inter-generational prospects of upward occupational mobility for their children.

The upshot is that the psychological meaning of work in contemporary society does not lie in the intrinsic individual satisfaction it may provide so much as it has become the primary context for self-evaluation and the main social mechanism through which individuals relate themselves to one another. The web of human relationships that we refer to as a social system has its focus in the institution of work. For the adult male and single female in contemporary society, work is the main function and primary source of status. For the adult married female, social status is derived vicariously from the occupational role of the husband. Children, of course, also inherit the status derived from their father's job or position.

To summarize. The main challenge posed by automation is at the social and psychological level.

The basic fear of automation is not that it will precipitate economic collapse for this challenge can be met relatively easily through new distributive mechanisms. The economic alarums are essentially convenient rationalizations for fears that lie much deeper in our society—the fear of leisure. At first glance a fear of leisure would seem to be some form of mass aberration or insanity. Surely the achievement of leisure is what we have been working so long and so hard to attain? It is only when we stop to realize what a sudden shortage or absence of work would do to a work-oriented society, that the very real grounds for such fear become clear. To be suddenly deprived of work in our society is equivalent to becoming a social outcast—unneeded and unheeded—deprived of the support of the value system and the whole range of social expectations and gratifications.

This then is the great danger of automation. A population conditioned by work for 2,000 years and in the last 100 years having built a whole value system and social system on the institution of work cannot profitably assimilate unlimited leisure overnight. The passage of time is necessary to allow new values to emerge, time for the individual to develop new interests and new functions, and time for people to fashion alternative sources of status and vehicles for relating themselves to one another.

There are at least two major areas of important work to be done during the transitional decades. There is the challenge at home and the challenge abroad. At home, there is the work to be done in the public sector—schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, low-cost housing, and integrated regional development on the pattern established in the Tennessee Valley. Abroad, there is the contribution we could make to the economic development of the societies of Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America. These challenging tasks are of clear and pressing worth on both ethical and practical grounds. By an unequivocal acceptance of these challenges, we would put ourselves in the way of rediscovering our own identity and destiny and fashion the new values which we are going to require in order to turn our automated future to human account.

During this transitional period, we will have an opportunity to experiment constructively with gradually increasing amounts of leisure. It is at least debatable whether shorter working days, a shorter work-week, extended or more frequent vacations, more education and later entry into the labour force, earlier retirement, or appropriate combinations of these formulae will best suit our human needs. Most important of all, such a transition period will allow us time and opportunity to experiment with various uses of leisure until individuals and groups have worked out the recipes which are most satisfying and rewarding.

The challenge of automation is, in the last analysis, a challenge for education. Education must provide the environment in which the individual may discover and develop himself—his strengths and his weaknesses, his potentials for growth and, above all, the interests that are a true expression of his individual identity. For the individual will only do with excellence those things that are of deep and abiding interest to him. And only thus will his life be distinguished with satisfaction and meaning. This is also the only way that the individual can maximize his social contribution and relate himself confidently and lovingly to his fellow men. By definition, the good society is the product of happy and purposeful individual lives and the manner in which such lives interact to stimulate and enrich one another.

Leisure: The Responsible Use of Free Time

GERALD R. OTTENHEIMER (1963)

The question of leisure–its nature, increase, purpose and pitfalls–is being increasingly discussed in North America. It is being discussed if not exclusively, then to a large extent, in terms of technology, automation, the reduced work week and compulsory retirement. It is surely obvious that technological developments and certain sociological changes tend to focus attention on leisure. Still we should be careful not to adopt either of two errors regarding it: the first being the view that leisure is a modern or contemporary phenomenon, whereas in reality it is perennial; the second, to regard leisure as a problem to be solved rather than as an opportunity to be developed–to be developed personally and socially.

The word leisure is derived from the Latin verb *licere* meaning *to be permitted.* It is therefore permissive rather than obligative; it is a time when we may be ourselves without being obliged to be anything but ourselves–without being obliged to be a plumber, teacher, lawyer, blue collar worker, or anything extrinsic to ourselves. Leisure therefore may be regarded as the totality of those periods during which we are free from the worries and occupations associated with maintenance of life and support of one's self and one's family–in other words the demands governing procurement of food, clothing, shelter, and other basic human necessities.

Although any knowledge of history will show leisure to be an integral part of all civilizations, it is true that in terms of extent it is becoming more widespread–widespread in the sense of the proportion of our population enjoying it and in the sense of the amount of our lives which is or will be potential leisure.

Leisure should not be equated with nonwork or with idleness. It is a specific state of being one's self–of having time and opportunity to pursue one's interests. Idleness on the other hand is the abuse of leisure, having the time and opportunity but not employing them to pursue one's interests–frequently because one has no interests. That may very well be the same as saying that one has not been given the opportunity to develop one's potential to such a point as to have interests. If this is frequently the case, it is a serious indictment of our society–more serious than we may at first realize. All who contribute to society by their work have a right to leisure. But this right is in reality meaningless and its exercise frustrated if our education, our environment, and in general our experience with life are so barren so as not to stimulate any non-obligative interests in us. Then, time not spent performing tasks necessary for sustaining life and supporting one's family is boredom, and boredom may be as close as we can come to Dante's *Inferno* and still inhabit the earth.

Discussion of leisure and its role in our lives and in society is frequently inhibited and self-conscious as if only work should merit serious thought and discussion. This is due to the influence of a work morality closely associated with the Puritan ethic. Paradoxically this work morality may even colour our ideas on leisure. What we need is a dynamic, inclusive, responsible, human concept of leisure capable of development, which aims to be a synthesis of human interests and aspirations.

I'd like to examine some of the more prevalent notions regarding leisure and to point out what I at least consider to be their limitations.

One of the most frightening of all is the view that leisure is useful because it permits man a certain restorative period in order to prepare him to work more efficiently. Proponents of this view, while speaking of leisure, actually deny its existence and change it to pre-work. It is misplaced utilitarianism originating in the factory and spreading to the beach, library and concert hall.

Then there are the various hedonist views on leisure ranging from the candidly sensualist, encompassing various forms of epicureanism, and finding a respectable expression in a studied aestheticism. One has the feeling that its practitioners wish to be regarded as Twentieth Century Pre-Raphaelites.

There is also the anti-social notion that the purpose of leisure is to provide an occasion to withdraw from the supposedly contaminating influence of the world and the flesh. Characterizing this North American Buddhism is the view that ordinary people engaging in ordinary activities of life are somehow unholy and that man can only save himself by withdrawal from his fellow man.

The contrary view of leisure is equally limiting—typified by the extrovert who views leisure as a fitting object of his organizational prowess. According to this outlook almost every activity is a fitting object for the organizer's talent. The organization man or rather the organization mentality, having gained as complete a victory as may be expected in the area of work, is still insatiable; it is now unleashing its considerable forces of inducement on leisure. According to this outlook the value of an activity, whether it be hiking or reading Homer, depends on the degree to which it has been organized.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of views towards leisure but it does, I believe, include the most prevalent ones. All of these outlooks contain an element of truth: leisure does have a definite restorative value; only a dyed-in-the-wool Puritan or his Jansenist counterpart would deny us the right to leisurely pleasure; man does have a right to, even a need of, seclusion and solitude; there is certainly a place for organized leisure activity. What is objectionable is the almost exclusive claims made by enthusiasts of these various forms of leisure. I believe we need to take a much broader view.

Leisure should be oriented towards being and doing rather than having. If we accept this we should exclude the compulsion which characterizes so many of our activities from our leisure—compulsion towards display, consumption and domination.

Here we and our children are not as well prepared as we should be. We have not developed our critical faculties to cope with the organized, money-backed, powerful campaign to prostitute leisure. This process of brain washing emphasizes quantity and ignores quality in its campaign to capture the leisure market. The experts in motivation research play upon our propensity towards love, hate, fear, vanity, sex and morality. During our leisure time we are urged—through print, spoken word, image, jingle and cartoon—to smell, look, speak, and act in certain ways; to take as many pictures as possible, to travel as many miles as we can, to drink as much of various brands of liquor, or soup, or calorie-free soft drinks as the human stomach can be expected to hold; to have as many clothes as the Joneses; to display as much "culture" as is compatible with one's status—and if necessary to borrow as much money over as long a period as possible—and to pay usury at as high a rate as permissive government agencies allow.

Because leisure is outside the realm of compulsion, it does not follow that it is without responsibility—to oneself and to others. Here we come to the true nature of leisure; it is or should be responsible. There are certain responsibilities of life which for many can be more fruitfully realized in leisure than in work. We all share the responsibility of personal growth, that is the personal development of our faculties and talents, of our capacity for enjoyment, creativity, and understanding. Accompanying this personal growth is an appreciation of truth, beauty, and love in people, art and nature. We all have different capacities and talents, yet we share a common responsibility to develop them to the limit of our potential.

Discussion of leisure is sometimes characterized by fear—fear of a vast number of people with too much free time and nothing to do with it. Perhaps the contemporary expression "time to kill" is an unconscious expression of this irrational fear. The inevitability of increasing leisure gives rise to hope and fear. In the final analysis it is our own response to leisure which will determine its effects.

Toward a philosophy of leisure

JOHN FARINA, (1969)

Leisure is not time. Nor is it work, recreation, or any other form of activity. Aristotle's notion of a condition or state of being is a relevant point of departure in developing the concept. Interestingly, practically all writers on the subject take Aristotle as the point of departure in discussing leisure but seldom seem to move from that point. The Aristotelian notion of the condition of being free from the necessity to labor has perhaps not been critically examined in the light of modern scholarship. As a result, the idea of leisurely labor has usually been omitted as a potential occupation of leisure. Further, the compulsively neurotic pursuit of free-time activity is difficult to exclude from leisure as derived from Aristotle.

Freedom and necessity have usually been identified as the critical terms in Aristotle's statement. Freedom in relation to leisure has been discussed in relation to freedom to work or not to work, freedom to choose from a range of behaviour, freedom of opportunity to pursue any of a wide range of activities, and freedom to occupy rather than use time. An additional dimension is the capacity to make choices.

The second critical variable, "necessity," has usually been discussed in the original Aristotelian sense, that is, necessity to labor. Yet necessity or need is surely a concept that influences freedom in many areas as vital as labor. Necessity presumably reflects need. While labor may in fact have some instrumental value in meeting basic human needs, it has not usually been classed as a basic need.

Much has been written about human needs, and a wide variety of need systems is described in the literature of social science. Most frequently reference is made to the needs of affection, belonging, achievement, recognition, and new experience. This classification has proven useful for recreation program planning. Thus encouragement is given to social activities, small group activities, clubs, competitive and cooperative programs, and to some extent to adventurous activities.

Yet there is some feeling that such programs and the rationales on which they are based are incomplete in terms of any philosophic position vis-à-vis what is wanted for people. To some extent those giving leadership to free-time activities recite these five basic needs like a catechism and relate them to planning in an almost mechanistic manner only ritualistically related to maximizing the full individual potential of people.

A different approach to human need was developed by Maslow and first set forth in his book *Motivation and Personality* in 1954. Maslow rejects the notion of any sense of equity between needs, and has conceptualized a hierarchy of need sets. His scheme is sufficiently general to encompass most other theories about human needs. In Maslow's view, needs at lower levels in the hierarchy must first be relatively well satisfied before the individual is free to address himself to the attainment of satisfaction of higher level needs. For example, man no sooner satisfies his physiological needs, which are at the bottom of the hierarchy, when, as Maslow puts it, "at once other (and higher) needs emerge and these, rather than physiological hungers, dominate the organism and when these in turn are satisfied, again new (and still higher) needs emerge and so on. This is what we mean by saying that the basic human needs are organized into a hierarchy of prepotency."

The idea of prepotency is central to Maslow's hierarchical ordering of needs, and is basic to the concept of leisure as presented herein. Needs at lower levels are more basic and have greater power than those at high levels. Hence lower level needs must be relatively well satisfied, on a continuing basis, before the individual is free to concentrate his resources on achieving satisfaction of higher-level needs. If a lower-level need is frustrated, for example, if safety is threatened, the individual temporarily abandons his pursuit of higher-level needs until his safety is relatively well assured.

When Maslow speaks of the satisfaction of self-actualization needs, he assumes this will be without exploitation or sacrifice of others. Rather the satisfaction of such needs is likely to enhance the possibility of others' self-actualization.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs has particular significance to the concept of leisure. Indeed, self-actualization could be considered as the end or goal of leisure. Maslow's scheme, however, also offers an explanation for the wide range of activities and motivations that have been attributed to leisure.

If we accept the notion of prepotency and the idea of different levels of need, then we can re-state the Aristotelian definition of leisure. Leisure is the state or condition of being free from the urgent demands of lower level needs. Here, the category of lower level needs includes the first four levels or all levels except self-actualization. If one is functioning at the level of self-actualization, then one can literally play at, or challenge, the lower level needs. Such play or challenge represents leisure activity. For example, the physiological needs of hunger, thirst, sex, and activity, when not faced with the urgency of unsatisfied need, find expression in the activities of the gourmet, the connoisseur, the Don Juan, and the athlete. Safety needs such as orderliness, justice, physical safety, and predictability may be challenged by gambling, mountaineering, parachuting, and white collar crime. Esteem needs may manifest themselves in sports, arts and letters, intellectual output, idiosyncratic behaviour, and voluntary service. Love and belonging needs may motivate membership in clubs, associations, and various teams and interest groups.

The state or condition of leisure then refers to freedom from the demands of lower echelon needs. Activity in leisure is not primarily dictated by time–time is not used but rather is occupied. Leisure then is possible during what is generally considered work time. An indicator of leisure during work time is the unhurried nature of activity reflecting freedom from demands or compulsions. The lack of hustle, bustle, and urgency in leisure activity is recognized in the general usage of the term "leisurely."

Obviously such a concept as leisure was redundant during the industrial age. It was the private privilege of a small economic elite. Leisure was viewed as a reward for work, rather than work being simply of instrumental value in the attainment of leisure. No longer, however, can any class be identified by virtue of the fact that it alone has leisure. The post-industrial age is potentially an age of mass leisure.

Mass leisure, however, may represent an unfortunate choice of terms. For leisure is personal and consists of activities not directly related to utilitarianism except insofar as they promote self-realization. The essence of the concept is being free to express oneself through activity (be it intellectual, spiritual, or physical) in order to strive toward one's full potential as a human being.

The determinants of choice of activity are physical predisposition, personality (or intra-psychic predisposition), and environmental factors. Certainly Canadians are as healthy and physically competent as most peoples. Personality as a determinant is perhaps the key to the personal, individualistic nature of leisure activity. Environment seems to be the most critical variable in relating the concept of leisure to Canada.

Certainly the environment has affected the development of activities in Canada. We skate and ski, play hockey, and curl. We have folk festivals and country dances, symphonies and ballet. There is theater and burlesque, gourmet dining and chuck wagon dinners. There are regional winter festivals and summer fairs. Indeed one of the remarkable by-products of our affluent society is the tremendous number of activities that are readily available to most people.

Aside from geography there are two elements of environment that should be noted. First is the existence of the widest range of communication media currently possible covering most of the country. In the past, the parochial norms and mores of nations, states, and cultural groups have limited the introduction and appreciation of many activities. The extension of national and international patterns of communication has resulted in broadening the range of appreciated activities. Today in the U.S.S.R. ice hockey is a highly valued activity. Perhaps in the not too distant future, ballet will be similarly valued in Canada. Continuing development and use of communications media are tending to internationalize many activities which are appropriate to leisure.

The second related element of environment that has particular relevance to Canada is culture. Canada as a country, if not a nation, is made up entirely of cultural minorities. Although English and French are the official languages, both the English and the French constitute minorities of the population. In fact if all Canadians who trace their ancestry to Britain are counted under the designation British, they still constitute a minority. Probably no nation is made up of such significant proportions of immigrants from other lands. Yet in Canada the concept of culture is an open one. All groups are encouraged to demonstrate their cultural heritage to the general population. Folk festivals, and displays of the arts, crafts, music, and dancing of specific ethnic groups, constitute an important aspect of leisure activities in Canada. Certainly there are indications of reaction, of the desire for closed cultures, but for the majority of ethnic groups, the opportunity to share and display their heritage to the general population is welcomed.

Perhaps the notion of the open culture—pride of heritage, willingness to share, and desire to contribute to the total cultural fabric of the nation—is the essence of Canadian culture. Perhaps. If so this approach places Canada in the mainstream of leisure philosophy of the post-industrial age. For the idea of intercultural penetration, of the display and sharing of heritage, of the assumption of activity norms from outside is the most apparent characteristic of current international patterns of leisure activity.

The cultural diversity of Canada is such that we represent on a smaller scale the pattern of development of leisure activities throughout the developed nations of the world. It would perhaps be uncharacteristic to proclaim that a post-industrial philosophy of leisure for man is a Canadian philosophy of leisure. It would be more typical to say that Canada has a philosophy of leisure consistent with an international philosophy.

(4) Education of Women.

The Common Adventure of Freedom

MARION V. ROYCE (1969)

Women, as well as men, need to be educated for gainful work. To undergird their occupational preparation, moreover, at every level of academic achievement they need a sound background of knowledge, not only of "the three r's," but of the world of work, itself—the implications of job commitment, the responsibility of membership in a professional or worker organization, the importance of fair labour standards and practices being written into the laws and obeyed, the changes in manpower needs and the necessity to keep abreast of them.

There are distinct differences, however, in the present stage of our society, between the occupationally oriented educational needs of men and of women—differences not so much in content as in timing. The acceptance of "a life-long flexible pattern of work and study for a whole people" might eliminate some aspects of this difference in the future. For the present, however, in planning for women's education it is necessary to take into account the usual phases of a woman's life: a period of education and training, probably with the addition of some work experience, as well as marriage; a period of child bearing and rearing, when her family is likely to be a woman's first preoccupation; and a period after her children have grown beyond the dependent stage when increasingly she is impelled to broaden her interests, often turning to remunerative employment.

Women's occupational preparation therefore, must be related to an initial entry into the labour force at a comparatively young age and again to re-entry, or indeed to a first entry, in maturity. The woman who has found a congenial place in the world of work may wish to acquire further knowledge and experience relating to her chosen field while she is still bringing up her family. Or again, some women, with growing maturity during this period of their lives may discover a hitherto unrealized preference or aptitude that they want to pursue in order to prepare for later active participation in a special field of work, or, it may be, in order to be a better informed citizen, a more intelligent parent—in short a wiser human being.

Instruction time-tables in our institutions of learning are set up almost altogether without reference to the educational needs and interests of people who are not full-time students. One of the most urgent needs in relation to continuing education for women in Canada today is to achieve such flexibility in time-tables as would make it possible for them to undertake systematic study along with the responsibilities of a family and household. Facilities for the group care of young children at regular periods would often free a mother not only to attend classes and lectures but allow her time for work in laboratory or library as well.

By no means all of the women who are interested in continuing education have credit courses in mind. A recent survey to determine the extent of such interest among a selected group of women showed that about one-third preferred non-credit courses. They wanted short-term workshops, seminars or special courses. The editor of the survey report attributes this preference to three possible factors: lack of commitment to a specific educational or vocational goal; lack of confidence in their ability to compete for grades; or heavy and unpredictable home responsibilities. As more women venture into continuing studies the volume of such reservations may be reduced. Meanwhile it is perhaps inevitable that many women undertake continuing education somewhat tentatively. More adequate counselling and guidance services are needed to help them assess their preferences and aptitudes and clarify the ends they seek.

The counsellors, teachers and administrative staff of the King Edward Continuing Education Centre in Vancouver have summarized the incentives underlying the urges for further education among women registered in the Centre's classes, which are at the secondary school rather than the university level, in these terms:

- –desire for personal satisfaction in realizing one's potential
- –desire for personal or family security through achieving a higher status of employment
- –desire to sublimate life's difficulties by finding new paths to explore
- –desire to exercise faculties and broaden one's world
- –desire to pursue knowledge for cultural benefits

Typical of the Centre's students are Mrs. X, wife of a professional man, conscious of her own inadequate education, believing that she has ability to learn and anxious to prove it to herself and others; Miss A, who is recovering from a long period of mental illness and who is enjoying a limited program of studies, including contacts with teachers and other students in a friendly atmosphere; Miss Z, a furlough missionary, a natural and experienced teacher but lacking professional status, whose preparation for a teaching career is being financed by her Church; Mrs. B, the mother of three children whose husband has an incurable disease, who is preparing for a career in social work; Mrs. R, who is taking a few classes yearly for personal enrichment and to improve her capacity for helping her children; Miss C, who has had a unique musical education but lacks other qualifications and is preparing to teach music in the schools.

Since the girl makes the woman, her education and training need special consideration in a long-range view of women's education. There are those who advocate a special curriculum for girls to prepare them for family living. If this premise be accepted, and it is not to be lightly dismissed, it would seem to be important that boys as future husbands and fathers should have equivalent preparation. Practical courses related to the setting up and maintaining of a home, such as consumer economics, interior decorating or cooking, would often be more effective, if available to young people–especially to girls, but not of necessity exclusively–when they are about to be or have just been married. One fact is basic: family living is not an isolated phenomenon. The family stands or falls, changes and adjusts to change as a cell within the larger community. Women as well as men, girls as well as boys who together accept responsibility for establishing families, need broad general education to the level of individual capacity. In the case of girls this goal often requires special emphasis, since it has not always been considered necessary that they as well as boys should be encouraged to develop fully as persons in their own right.

Work oriented programs

One could scarcely find a better example of the continuing education of women than the Quo Vadis School of Nursing. It is not only unique but also truly pioneering. Imagine a school of nursing offering a two-year non-residential course for women between the ages of 30 and 50! With a few experimental exceptions, it has long been assumed that it takes three years to train a nurse. Nevertheless, numbers of its graduates are proving its efficacy in the practice of their profession.

In the field of professional training two other programs briefly described give hope of an awakening recognition of the potential of the mature woman: the intern program for the training of elementary school teachers in Ontario and an experiment in refresher medical education for women physicians. The former, in which men as well as women are accepted, has a predominance of women, in part, no doubt, because teaching is a traditional field of work for women and one which the mature woman, especially if she has brought up a family of her own, feels she can enter with the confidence of understanding children. The virtue of the program lies in its wholesome rhythm of internship and classroom instruction. It has not been adapted to part-time study, however, nor does it anticipate part-time teaching as do some of the more recent teacher-training programs in the United States which have been developed to recruit the mature educated woman to this profession, so influential in the growth of children.

The experiment in refresher education for women physicians, sponsored by the Extension Division of Medical Education of the University of Toronto at the request of the Federation of Medical Women, bespeaks a sense of group solidarity on the part of medical women in concern that their training not be wasted. Also, it signals recognition of the professional potential of medical women who have been out of practice for varying periods of time, a resource frequently ignored even in the face of physician shortages.

Programs developed by voluntary bodies

Accepting the premise that to live meaningfully in today's world women need significant out-of-home roles, and that paid employment is not the exclusive answer, the continuing education of women must encompass alternative goals of community participation and ways of achieving them. Women themselves often find answers by responding creatively to interests and concerns that challenge them. One of these with great potential for learning, in essence "a political life style," is exemplified in the work of the Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto. The underlying principle of its program is that "immediate experience of government and direct exposure to its machinery and operations are essential to understanding of civic affairs."

The Association, therefore, maintains a roster of voluntary "observers" from among its members who attend all meetings of Toronto's municipal bodies. The reports of these observers, which are available to interested subscribers and are filed in the municipal library, by now cover more than three decades of the history of civic government in the City of Toronto and of the metropolitan government as well, ever since its formation. Further, the reports provide background for the selection of unresolved issues for study and research by small groups of members of the Association, leading to recommendations for action. Few programs of adult education and community development have stood the test of time so well. Moreover, one-time active members of "Women Electors" who have learned the fabric of civic government are now serving in public life in both elected and appointed capacities, thereby helping to fill the need for informed, intelligent, spacious-minded citizens at all levels in government.

It was concern for the contribution of voluntary organizations to our corporate life and their role in helping to effect social change that motivated the National Council of Jewish Women to undertake its School for Citizen Participation. Last year schools were held in seven cities, each adapting a curriculum that had been drafted at the national level. Next year it is anticipated that there may be additional ones. They are organized in cooperation with university extension divisions, another example of these latter cooperating with voluntary groups. Programs for next year will be remodelled as a result of careful evaluation made by each participating section of the National Council and then reviewed in discussions involving responsible leaders from across the country. Here is being created a useful body of knowledge and experience in citizenship education.

Male and female "defects"

Not irrelevant to the broad subject of the education of both men and women, is a comment of Rebecca West in the Prologue to *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (Compass Books Edition, Viking Press, 1964.) During an illness that had taken her to hospital the author had been exasperated by the reaction of a nurse to her concern on learning of the assassination of the King of Yugoslavia in the streets of Marseilles. "Oh, dear!" said the nurse. "Did you know him?" "No," replied the author. "Then why," asked the nurse, "do you think it so terrible?" The episode led Rebecca West to write:

> *Her question made me remember that the word "idiot" comes from a Greek root meaning private person. Idiocy is the female defect: intent on their private lives, women follow their fate through a darkness deep as that cast by malformed cells in the brain. It is no worse than the male defect, which is lunacy: they are so obsessed by public affairs that they see the world as by moonlight, which shows the outlines of every object but not the details indicative of their nature.*

Granting the hazards of broad generalization, even from so gifted a pen as Rebecca West's, one cannot gainsay the identification of these two qualities ("defects"), the one as innately feminine, the other as natively masculine. Nor can one deny the "defect" of each quality in isolation. But what if they were combined within one individual, man or woman, and in the community as a whole!

Women's participation in coeducational programs

Even more striking than the number and variety of educational programs developed for and by women themselves, is the catholicity of their participation in coeducational enterprises. Interestingly enough too, wherever there are such opportunities, increasing numbers of women are becoming involved. All phases of "university extension," for instance, enlist women on a considerable scale. Moreover, in such developments as the formation of the Association for Part-time Undergraduate Degree Students in the Department of Extension of the University of Toronto, women students have been among the initiators and leaders. This Association, which now has representation on various official bodies within the University, gives voice to the outlook and needs of the growing body of adult students who hitherto had often not been distinguished from the great mass of younger day-time students. Women members of the Association are, moreover, in a strategic position to articulate the particular problems of women students within the perspective of the total task of the University.

Women have always comprised a high proportion of the enrollment of evening classes in adult education offered by local educational authorities such as public school boards. Recent appointments of coordinators of women's programs to the staff of school boards give evidence of a desire to ensure that current educational needs of women are being met and new areas of their interest explored and provided for.

Significant developments have occurred also in the study of mature women students enrolled in degree courses in the University of Manitoba and in the now second year in which statistical data have been compiled regarding the similar group within the main student body of The University of British Columbia. In the latter University, moreover, mature women students have come into their own through organizing Continuing University Education (CUE), an association which both literally and figuratively has given them "a room of their own" within the life of the University. It enables them to think through together as a group their position as students, the extent to which it reflects the social situation of women in general, and what they can do about it.

Thomas More Institute with its non-institutional base and flexible programming, has had an especially enthusiastic response from women. And whenever you grow discouraged about the educational wastelands of television, there is TEVEC, in the Saguenay Lac St Jean area of Quebec with women comprising well over half its participants. Moreover TEVEC has been the forerunner of an experimental program sponsored by the University of Montreal for the upgrading of teachers in the Noranda-Rouyn Area.

In the past adult education was regarded almost entirely as a means of helping people to make up for lack of educational opportunities in earlier life. Still, in the present, such "gap-filling" remains a primary reason for the continuing education of women, so many of whom dropped out of school at one level or another without completing the requirements of a certificate, diploma or degree. "It didn't seem important for a girl to go further in school"; "No one urged me to continue"—such explanations of incomplete educational records are readily recognizable. Alongside these is often the economic need to earn a living or "to help at home" at an early age.

Meanwhile the world has moved on and to cope with today's explosion of knowledge, or indeed just the mundane needs of everyday, calls for the more spacious concept of continuing education inherent in "education permanente"—education that generates the capacity for continuous growth through every stage of life. Surely then a basic criterion of any program of continuing education is that in means, methods, and content it "makes sense of life," to borrow words of Voltaire from the lips of Candide. Are its participants satisfied with short-term goals or are they becoming more effective workers, more involved and politically knowledgeable citizens and, beyond all else, more alive and competent in the sheer art of living meaningfully in a rapidly changing and increasingly smaller, yet highly complex world?

Associating education—learning—with the classroom as we tend to do, it is easy to overlook the fact that we humans learn in many ways—doing, working, reading, listening and looking, alone, and together with others. Perhaps what the classroom with a good teacher contributes most meaningfully is the discovery of new perspectives, ways of seeing things that are different from our habitual ways and yet fully as valid. If and when the classroom experience is one of passive acceptance of ideas and facts—learning by rote—and giving back "what the professor wants," it is no more than an expensive waste of time and, moreover, it demeans the teacher.

Moving out of the classroom as the centre of learning it is gratifying to take note of the educational possibilities of voluntary involvement in civic, social, and educational affairs on the part of various women's associations. And patently television, creatively used as in the TEVEC project, involving many volunteers, is as effective a way as has yet been found to break through the isolation of the housebound woman.

Despite substantial achievement in the continuing education of women its whys and wherefores are still the subject of controversy for many people. Apprehension regarding it stems largely no doubt from misgivings about its effect on vanishing but still widely cherished traditions with respect to woman's role. The intellectual—or perhaps more accurately emotional—dead-end that obstructs openmindedness toward the subject is the assumption that woman's place is in the home and the home only. That education is a potential catalyst in this situation there can be no doubt. As such it should have full encouragement and support for, if women are to emerge from cocoons of narrowly restricted perspectives, wholesome compromise between their obligations within the family and in the wider world of employment and community service must be achieved. But education in itself is not a panacea. As an escape it cannot be more than a bypath, while the dead-end remains. As preparation for wider involvement in life and living, it becomes meaningless and frustrating until a climate of opinion is created for acceptance of women in new roles, particularly by women themselves.

"To make sense of life" in our day the least requirement is to accept the common humanity of man and woman, at the same time acknowledging the fact of difference one from the other. Yet many of the differences stem from environmental conditioning that begins so early in life that "it is difficult to separate the cultural product from its biological base." Moreover, "both sexes have a high degree of emotional investment in the current sex ideology." Search for understanding of the forces that shape men and women is fully as challenging as exploration of the Moon or Mars. There is direction for the journey in the words of the French writer, Francine Dumas:

> *Facing one another for the first time in history as beings who are consciously similar because they are fully human, and consciously different because they are men and women, the two sexes are discovering themselves as part of the same race and yet strangers, ready to attempt together the common adventure of freedom.*

(5) The Media, The Message and Some Questions.

MELVILLE H. WATKINS. (1964)

The academic community is notorious for its neglect of the mass media. In its smugger moods, it dismisses them as an opiate for the masses. Its notion of genuine concern is to brand them as dangerous toys for children. Its obsession—its *raison d'ètre*—is, of course, the printed word—not print but "literature," or that small portion of print which can be treasured precisely on the grounds of its inaccessibility to the masses.

There is no doubt some exaggeration here, but there is also a hard core of truth. In general, the Canadian academic community has been no exception to these strictures. Indeed, it has typically one-upped its U.S. counterpart by refusing the media even that minimal status associated with "how-to" schools of journalism and advertising. But the marginal status of Canada relative to the great centres of power and culture has also made possible a different perspective; to be lashed by the tidal waves of technology emanating from abroad is to compel, in order to survive, a special kind of self-consciousness and detachment. In the hands of genius, that perspective can result in intellectual innovations of the first order. Such creative responses are rare, but in the study of the mass media, or the technology of communications, this country has produced first Harold Innis and now Marshall McLuhan.

Innis, an economic historian at the University of Toronto, won international recognition for his pioneering work on Canada. Though he intended to eschew explicit statements of his method as he laboured to produce his massive studies of the fur trade and the cod fisheries, his successors have tried to impose order on his powerful but often chaotic work by attributing to him a "staple approach." The physical character of the staple—the lightness of fur, the bulkiness of timber, the perishability of cod, the variability of wheat harvests—became the central theme around which to write the total history of the economic, political and social institutions of Canada. When Innis turned to universal history, everything changed but the method. The media became the staple. Instead of the great staple trades of Canada we now find as the unifying themes the great media of history such as stone, papyrus, print, radio and so on. The result is a "media approach" to communications that stands in sharp contrast to the more conventional "informational approach" which studies communications systems primarily in terms of the analysis of content.

McLuhan, a Professor of English at St. Michael's College and the director of a new Centre for Culture and Technology at the University of Toronto, is a worthy successor. Like Innis, with his eye on the medium, he keeps in touch. His third book, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, 360 p.) is certainly his most accessible, not only stylistically, about which there have been too many exaggerated and misinformed complaints, but also substantially. It deals with the stuff of life today which most of us take so much for granted that we have lost our ability to comprehend—the book, the newspaper, the telephone, movies, TV *et al.*

McLuhan's basic theme and most profound insight is contained in the single sentence: "The medium is the message." The "content" of any medium is another medium; for example, the written word is the content of print, the spoken word the content of radio. Hence the content of analysis, the informational approach, is one crucial step removed, and necessarily judges the new medium from the perspective of some predecessor. The real "message" of any medium "is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs." (p 8)

The link to Innis is clear. But there is an important difference that makes McLuhan a major innovator in his own right. Whereas Innis focussed on the time-space nexus of the medium—the geographic extent and staying power of empires was the basic theme of his seminal work *Empire and Communications*—McLuhan sees the primary impact of the medium as being on our sense ratios or patterns of perception. (There is a critical shift from the "political" to the "psychological" which, in itself, communicates much about the changing times.) The media of communications, indeed technologies in general, are "extensions of man."

The wheel is an extension of the foot, the photograph of the eye, radio of the ear. A medium extends a sense organ or organs outside the human body. If it greatly steps up a particular sense, then it puts that sense in "high definition" or makes the medium "hot." The undue extension of a particular sense tends to hypnotize, or anaesthetize, and to minimize any "filling in" or participation or involvement by the audience. But, again using McLuhan's modish terminology, a medium can be "low definition" or "cool"; it can give little and require much filling in by the audience. Contrast, by way of example, the photograph and the cartoon. Both extend the visual, but the latter the lesser and the viewer is compelled to do more work.

But a medium can extend more than one sense. If I understand McLuhan properly, the greater the number of senses that are extended by a medium, the lesser the possibility of stepping up any one to induce hypnosis, and hence the greater the "coolness" of the medium. On both counts, television for example, is cool. The image is flat two-dimensional mosaic which is visually low-definition compared to the photograph or movie, and the sound is put to shame by any decent home radio. And, to state the obvious, it blends the eye and the ear. This interplay of the senses, we are told, evokes the tactile: it makes us "feel involved" and "keeps us in touch." But, McLuhan warns, "cool" all the senses, and the result would be hallucination.

The full flavour of the media method of both Innis and McLuhan may now be sensed. It is low-definition to the extent that is permitted by the visually high-definition book. Alan Thomas, reviewing this book in *The Telegram*, compared it to poetry and suggested it be read as such. McLuhan is a Joycean scholar and this should add to our appreciation, at least of his puns. Another analogy, which McLuhan makes much of in his prior book, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, is with modern art. In all cases, the audience gets out what it puts in, and we would be intolerant of anyone who expected otherwise. Similarly, McLuhan's books are do-it-yourself kits bound to shock and infuriate the conventional bookish man. To look for specific conclusions supported by tight argument is profoundly to misunderstand McLuhan's "message"; what he offers is a new and different way to look at whatever concerns us.

It should be evident that the approach is genuinely revolutionary. This impression can be reinforced by citing some of the specific "conclusions" which McLuhan, personally generates with this method, or irresistibly suggests to this reviewer. TV is not an idiot-box, but the man who thinks he can escape its impact by not watching it is truly idiotic. The content of Goldwaterism is demagogic, or hot, which is suitable to radio, witness Hitler, but not to TV. But, at least in contrast to the late Senator McCarthy who was destroyed by the televised armed services hearings, Goldwater is cool. The stark simplicity of his message presented in an almost simple-minded fashion should induce the viewer to fill in at a rapid pace, and run to the nearest polling-booth in panic to vote against him. But there are still a lot of pre-electric types around who have not yet seen the light, so President Johnson's problem is not white backlash but media backlash. TV is tactile, and so are babies, which gives us a new explanation of the postwar baby boom which has so confounded the demographers. Flags are visual symbols, and Canada should find some thing more tactile to run up the flagpole. But then flagpoles are also obsolete, and with them that flag-waving nationalism that Canadians had managed to get along without, gas stations excepted. It is not Europe that is being Americanized but America that is being Europeanized; consider the Volkswagen which finally compelled the U.S. car manufacturers to build a car which was big on the inside and small on the outside. In this process, Canada has some advantages over the U.S., for we still have many French Canadians and new Canadians who are not well integrated into the American way of life. IQ tests measure the rationalism of the literate and there is still hope for the artistically creative. Automation will not cause mass unemployment; by fusing work and learning it makes conventional notions of employment obsolete. The computer cannot think; rather it fantastically speeds up our capacity to do routine tasks which have been the mainstay of mankind throughout history and we are understandably frightened. Specialties are dead but the specialists linger on.

But what does it all add up to? As a current joke on the University of Toronto campus goes: does McLuhan just have a bad TV set? Two serious points are in order. Firstly, every method is suspect which has no obvious limitations. McLuhan is brilliant in suggesting the impact of each medium, but he has nothing specific to contribute to the question of how we move through time from one medium to another. I must insist on behalf of the historian that this is a serious flaw, for it is precisely the movement from one "period" to another that has the greatest fascination for that specialist and he would abandon such a position at his peril. Innis was an historian and he did provide an answer—though it is, perhaps, not fully satisfactory—by evoking a centre-margin interaction. In reaction to the dominant technology of the centre, new technologies emerged in marginal areas, till they in turn became dominant and were toppled. Secondly, and at the risk of repetition, McLuhan does not provide answers; rather he asks new and different questions, which is both more difficult and more valuable.

(6) Canada's Centennial and Expo.

Two reflections on a national celebration.

The Voices of Our Centennial Summer

EDITORIAL, *CONTINUOUS LEARNING* (1967)

What we now must all do is ponder on what were the voices of our Centennial Summer really saying to us—or rather, what we in our moments of excitement and abandon were saying to each other?

First of all, we might pay some handsome tributes to the people who saw the opportunity early enough to make it all possible. Perhaps it was Mr. Diefenbaker's initial promise of one hundred million dollars that suggested to many of us what the scope of the celebration might be, and indirectly the magnitude of what we had to celebrate. But there had been earlier voices. Those that led to the founding of the Centennial Council and who believed in the necessity of a strong voluntary voice deserve some special tribute. The Centennial Commission that followed later, with all its difficulties, still brought many things out of not very much. One must put on equal footing the imagination of Jean Drapeau and the tremendous determination that made EXPO both possible and overwhelmingly successful. One might pause to observe that one of the great things about EXPO is that it was the creative mixture of both French and English speaking Canadians that brought about its success. Certainly EXPO represents the greatest single contribution to adult education ever created in the country, and doubtless in most others.

We would be unwise to forget the odds that existed against any of our Centennial events succeeding. The sniping and cynicism about EXPO; the disdain and patronizing of the Centennial Celebrations so rampant in the popular establishment a year or two ago; the uneasy cultural state of the country; the political paralysis that makes us incapable of forming a stable national government; all of these were the most unlikely background against which to mount a national celebration, or to mobilize so phlegmatic and passive a bunch of patriots as we Canadians seem to be.

And yet it was done. Who would have believed that so many people would show up on January 1st at Queen's Park, or on July 1st at Parliament Hill. Certainly the "establishment" was unprepared. Who would have expected so many thousands would line up for the Centennial train; or that Winnipeg would mobilize itself to the last woman and child for the Pan-American games; that the Tattoo would play to packed and standing audiences, or that the thousands of town, village and city events would engage so many of our citizens. From block celebrations to huge urban pageants, the response and excitement was the same.

Well, we have to believe it now. It has all happened. But what do we understand of it? Now that it is over, now that all that tremendous self-teaching about Canada, citizenship and participation has gone by, will we return to the old tiresome ways of difference and phony self-abnegation? There are signs that we will if we do not reflect on what the message of Centennial Summer really was. We believe that the people of Canada have indicated quite clearly that they have no doubts about who they are and what they have been. They may not have been good at saying it, and they've had little help in doing so from an unsure establishment, but that they felt it, can never again be doubted. We believe that they are proud of their past and want to be prouder of their future as Canadians, and are now looking for the leadership and the national opportunities that will help them find and deserve that pride. We do not believe that the political leadership has heard these voice or these hopes. We saw no sign of it at the Conservative convention, we find little or nothing of it in any of the provincial campaigns just concluded. We just don't believe that our leaders have been listening except perhaps to each other.

The summer and its celebrations have been one of unequalled adult learning. Citizens have participated in these events and now have the taste. They wish to participate more in their own affairs and in the affairs of their country. It is by that route that true learning lies, or that all true learning finds its object.

Adult education in Canada has always represented an attempt to bring learning into close and intimate contact with action. It must continue to be mainly that. It must hold fast to its belief that only in that amalgam resides true citizenship and our major hope as a country. We must work unceasingly to see that more and more citizens find the opportunity to participate in public affairs of all kinds. Despite some appearances Canada has not in general trusted its citizens. We have been, for whatever sound and arguable historical conditions, a thoroughly authoritarian society. We have not done badly by the leadership elite that has served the country, but it is time for that circumstance to change. Little effort is exerted to inform the citizen about what major decisions are being made on his behalf, except at election time. Little attempt is really made to explain to him how to use the institutions that are already at his disposal. In this issue we find ourselves aligned with the young, whose greater concern is for structure and who is participating rather than for issue and result.

Our experience surely teaches us to trust the will to learn and the need for the constant nurture of real conditions that make learning possible in all the major issues that confront us.

We believe that the lesson of Centennial Summer is simply this, that the citizens of Canada know they are Canadians and wish now to take part in realizing this knowledge to the benefit of their country, the world and themselves. For Canada the time is crucial; for learning it is unmatched in opportunity and promise.

EXPO—A Major Experience in Adult Education

LEONARD MARSH (1967)

My only concern about EXPO is that, now that it's all over, its amazing lessons might too easily be taken for granted! Quite honestly, I went to EXPO the *second* time (please note, from Vancouver, and at my own expense, after a three-weeks' stay in its early days) because it was such an exciting *educational* experience. Educational in the best sense of the word—not by formal instruction, but by building instruction into all the delights of good surroundings, having fun, meeting with people, and asking a thousand questions about today's world.

Encouraged by the pronouncement of a recent issue of this journal that EXPO represented "the greatest single contribution to adult education ever created in Canada," I would like to set down my list of the things which were highly significant but apt to be taken for granted. I'm not sure which are the little ones, and which are big: nor do I make any attempt to put them in order (any more than EXPO did). The reader might indeed have fun (and further adult education) by matching his or her impressions against mine. Let's find out how far you agree!

1. No litter!

EXPO was clean and uncluttered. Everybody perceived it eventually—even if they only got the message when they saw one of the "collectors" brushing around their feet.

Think of the appalling mass of paper, cellophane wrappings, containers, cigarette butts and other garbage Canadians regularly deposit on picnic spots, beaches, parks and city streets. Read what one commentator said about the C.N.E.: "Twenty-four hours after it opened, the Canadian National Exhibition ... was a mess of litter ... The piles of paper and other discarded material lay on the Midway grounds for hours".

Has EXPO taught us some manners? Do we perceive that public property, when it's created for our delight as EXPO so clearly was, merits the polite treatment you would give to your friend's house, when you wouldn't drop your cigarette package on their floor or grind your butts into their rug?

There's hope. I saw one mother telling her child to pick up the Kleenex he threw down in one of the picnic plazas. And the garbage containers, though filled to overflowing, were obviously used. Of course, more work, education, and good example will always be needed. I remember the two battered beer cans left on that altar-like sculpture in the Sanctuary (Canadian pavilion): I picked them up and took them away, and I didn't care who watched me.

Litter is a little thing—and a very big thing. The modern metropolis could be overwhelmed by it. But quiet pleading helped those thousands of original triangles that the EXPO designers placed everywhere. And so does sheer beauty and order in our surroundings when we're lucky enough to get it. (Does the ugliness and chaos of the conventional street encourage irresponsibility?) Though why, oh why, do people have to throw pennies in every pool?

2. Those excellent catalogues!

What you want as a souvenir, when you go to a great art show, is not just a few notes and a sample picture or two, but a reminder of everything. (For the Art Gallery, EXPO thoughtfully provided both). If you want everything (and I certainly did), this is precisely what you get from the art treasures catalogue, the photographic collection catalogue, the sculpture exhibit catalogue. And more—the book on that incredible Art Collection ($4) includes an eloquent miniature essay on each work. The book on the sculptures ($2) includes, in a few pages, the best explanation I've read yet of what contemporary sculptors are trying to do. The photographic catalogue ($2) is a particular joy, because miniature photos convey almost as much as the originals and it was wonderful to be able to take home with you the whole beautifully-organized exhibit.

It's essential to mention also the "Terre des Hommes" book, because I doubt that (like the theme pavilions) it received the attention it deserved. It was a wonderfully co-operative effort—sensitive evocations by Gabrielle Roy, a wide range of artistic photography (not forgetting people), collaboration between the students of McGill and l'Université de Montréal in selling it. A bargain for $5, and it seems to reflect the spirit which made EXPO possible—a vast creative construction job.

Of course, all these catalogues were subsidized. Why not? Isn't this the way it ought to be? Could we have enough schools for all our children, without subsidy? Are we learning, at last, that the arts won't flourish without subsidy? In the Age of Leisure, if it's really coming (we got the feel of it by experiencing EXPO), we have a lot of things to get used to.

3. The city of the future?

Everybody recognized right away that EXPO was an architectural fashion parade. But it wasn't architecture just to look at (a few of the national pavilions were, like the little Thailand jewel)—it was architecture in use. The deployment of trees, grass, water, colours. Places off the main stream to sit, to watch the others do the walking, to eat your sandwiches. Attractively located bars and restaurants. Boutiques effectively grouped, with various public services, instead of the weary ribbons of our commercial streets. And all linked together by unified "street furniture", standard lettering, those graceful street-lights. To say nothing of elevated mass transit (no parking!), much of it free.

In short, this was the way our streets and squares and service areas could all be—cheerful places for walking, sitting, shopping, meeting, even for milling about. This is the city built for people, instead of cars; commonplace already in many rebuilt British and continental cities, and the "New Towns," but long delayed in most of our timid urban renewal projects. (Of course, Montreal is already ahead of the game with its exciting plazas à la Ville Marie, below ground as well as above.)

The EXPO sense of pleasure and excitement—in spite of all the crowds—won't be forgotten. And many will ask: Why not in *our* town? I've heard at least one large-scale development described as "just like EXPO". May there be more! A chance for all those artists and technicians and construction men who learned all the "wrinkles", who have to find new jobs now that EXPO is over!

4. Films—yes—but music, too.

It didn't take long to realize that EXPO was one vast Film Spectacular. It might have been expected, I suppose. But did anybody really anticipate the incredible lengths to which it actually went? What a variety—from the sheer technical virtuosity of *Labyrinth*, through all the multi-screen variations, to the human and artistic links created in those *Laterna Magika* ensembles.

But it isn't just films: *all* the arts have been given a tremendous boost. The fantastic use of colour; the ingenuity of many of the displays; the way sculpture—and modern sculpture, at that—was accepted; and don't forget dress design (not only the galaxy of hostesses, but what the "in" girls wore to EXPO). Still, I suspect that the least realized of all the contributions was EXPO's gift to music.

To music, because to start with, they didn't let all the exhibits pipe their goings-on, amplified, into the "streets." Can you imagine how it might have sounded—a bedlam to OUTNOISE all bedlams! On the contrary, music of all kinds was given its own proper place: discreetly and intimately used in many exhibits (the British pavilion was a model in this regard), provided for elsewhere in properly designed open-air theatres (bands, choirs, pop music, all varieties). To say nothing of the major Music Festival itself, which was really a separate event (whether at EXPO Theatre, or in the Place des Arts).

Further, they rejected the synthetic cheerfulness of Muzak. Oh, I know there was some Muzak among the cows and chickens (in Man the Provider); if that piped-in stuff helps them to give milk and eggs, that's okay, but for people, it's the most misunderstood "blessing" (or baptism) of all "modern conveniences." In a restaurant for example: too low for you to listen to it (should it be worth listening to), just high enough to "stimulate conversation." Poor music. What a thing to do to it! It's sheer torture for the genuine music-lover.

However, don't get me wrong. There is music which, in a way, is *not* meant to be heard. This is the music which, only partly consciously, heightens the effect of visual art—particularly films. Of this, there was the whole gamut, not in the films alone, for even some of the buildings "spoke" (notably France). *Labyrinth* was partly music—did you realize it? You can buy a record of it: I wonder how many of us will recognize it without the film?

Whatever modern music is—and it's many things—it was given more *appropriate* outlets at EXPO than anywhere else in our experience. I noticed too that the youngsters didn't bring their transistors along. What music most needs today is discriminate recognition. There are *many kinds*, and they can all add to the quality of life. But we should face the fact, without snobbishness, that different people have different levels of appreciation as well as different moods. For the true rich and human variety of music we can enjoy when we want to, dreary diluted and compulsory banality is nobody's substitute.

5. Why were the queues so patient?

My one outstanding criticism of EXPO was those dreadful queues. I thought of a dozen practical and impractical ways of ending them (and I know about the failure of the computerized reservation system). There must be thousands who felt badly because six hours out of their two days had to be spent standing and waiting. The troubadors (when they showed up) and the pretty hostesses (too much tied to passport stamping) helped somewhat, but not all that much.

From my very first day, it puzzled me more than anything else—why do thousands of people put up with this (especially after being packed in Metro during those months when it was a sizzler;? Did they take *this* for granted?

They were remarkably cheerful crowds. It seems to have been established early that it was okay for Dad to hold a place while Mum and the kids went some place else, and there were several variations on this theme. Perhaps it was a bigger factor in making the queues tolerable than has been generally realized. I also suspect that Montrealers formed a high proportion of the queues (particularly in the evenings) and *they* were patient because for a whole six months they had the luxury of being able to go to just one pavilion in one evening (and then off to La Ronde again!)

I must add that I struck up more conversations in queues, and learned about other people's reactions, than I would have done elsewhere. Still, I would have preferred to do it in the restaurants, or the *Bulldog*, or the *Carrefour*.

On the whole, I remain baffled by this fact of EXPO. Did the minirail, and the balades, and the visual pleasure of the whole many-sided spectacle make up for the stationary episodes? I can only conclude that, from what they heard about the Fair before they came, particularly from those who had already been, they decided it was worth it. Most of the time, I must confess, I did myself. But if this is an inescapable cost, what do we face for EXPO '70?

6. No advertising!

We live in a world of rampant huckstering—blatant billboards, clashing neon signs, unceasing commercials, gimmicks and "come-ons"; commanding, persuading, insinuating. What a babel of sight and sound EXPO might have been if the sites had simply been let out as individual concessions, with no planning and no policy! Instead, Pierre Berton (and many others less exalted have echoed him) was struck by what he called EXPO's *serenity*.

It's true. There was a kind of quiet excitement, the moment you entered. But the enticing spread of attractions didn't fight with each other. As somebody said to me, trying to express this, "They're not all reaching out trying to grab you." The unified and pleasurable surroundings had a lot to do with this. After all, it was the best eighteenth-century city areas (designed for the privileged) that coined the word "urbanity". We don't associate that with our urban areas today: there's too much screaming and cajolerie.

Somebody had to have enough vision to see through our over-competitive contemporary clamour, and several people had to have the courage to lay down the rules. If the truth were told, you can be sure many corporations tried to resist this, and probably affirmed vigorously that it wouldn't work. But is it not possible that by being prevented from displaying themselves *outward*, they turned inward, and used the arts and entertainment and humour, and what you might call educational modesty, to impress the public with their wares? There was a remarkable similarity between the public and the private exhibits in this regard (between CNR and CPR, or Air Canada and Steel, for example). Did you realize this? And they all imparted a little more reality and honesty to the idea that they were "Canadian."

You might argue that La Ronde was different. I don't know. I would describe it as having been gay rather than noisy. (Perhaps we shouldn't speak of La Ronde in the past tense!) Anyway, I don't think Westinghouse did themselves the least bit of harm by being associated with those delightful Dancing Waters rather than a lot of spiels about their products. Another thing struck me forcibly—remember the illuminated sign that was supposed to alert the waiting crowds to exhibits that weren't besieged: did it really work? I have a distinct impression that most people didn't pay much attention. Is it possible that because this sign looked so much like the conventional advertising they were used to, they just "turned off" when it flashed on—the way they do with television commercials? They knew the medium was operating, all right; but they didn't get the message!

7. EXPO didn't just happen.

It sure was a Big Happening. But it was planned. There are so many odd stereotypes abroad about planning, that when it's really successful people are often baffled. After all aren't planners the dictators who tell everybody what's good for them? Or the bureaucrats who just impose a lot of irritating regulations? Or airy-fairy idealists with a lot of pictures on paper which are quite impractical when they come down to earth?

Well, if ever there was successful planning, it was EXPO. And it was federal-provincial-municipal at that—supposedly the most unworkable of all Canadian inventions. And it used committees—even committees concerned with aesthetics! Of course, it wouldn't have come off without the genius of Dupuis and Drapeau, without the energy and know-how of Churchill and Shaw, to say nothing of the new computer-magic of the "critical path." And there were flashes of inspiration like the decision to turn St. Helen's into a Montreal Venice, when they ran out of earth from the originally-providential Metro. Or that crazy (but remarkably Canadian) Katimavik!

It didn't happen by accident. If there's anybody left who really believes in laissez-faire (let things alone, especially when it's government doing the "interfering") they'd better do a bit more pondering about EXPO. Perhaps we need "more EXPO" in a lot of our national affairs? Come to think of it, the *next* hundred years takes us past the middle of the 21st century!

8. The quiet approach to education.

We're told on all sides (I don't believe it) that people don't like to be educated. My experience is that everything depends on how it's done. But, like it or not, can anybody deny that EXPO *was* educational? Not only education, but the quietest and pleasantest ventures in it I've seen for a long time, I would say.

For example, I defied any of my friends to walk through the Man the Provider pavilions—and what a pleasant stroll that was, just right for taking the kids, and nicely-spaced things to look at—without gaining a new insight into the "population explosion," and the importance of getting research done on the world's food supplies. I defied anyone, likewise, to go through the Canadian Indian pavilion without getting a new sense of the white man's shame—of what, collectively and historically, we have done to the original inhabitants of our country, their culture and their environment—and of the dignity of Indian resentment about it.

Then, the national pavilions. They were the most readily understood part of the whole Exhibition, and that's an interesting fact in itself, isn't it? It might have been just a great glorified "trade fair" with the accent on things to be sold rather than the countries and their people. The best among them did beautiful jobs in presenting geography, history, sociology, arts and crafts, national characteristics; all without any shouting, salesmanship, or "talking down." *Use No Hooks* might have been their watchword. Modesty and humour were recognized for their human appeal–surely nowhere better than in the Danish exhibit. In different ways, both the Scandinavians and the Africans presented some nice examples of co-operation. And of "unity in diversity" (not irrelevant for Canada?).

It's hopeless to generalize about particular areas, of course, but you can't help trying. Would you agree about these overall impressions? Britain–people; and respect for democratic "give and take." Czechoslovakia–beauty and pride in craftsmanship, skilfully underplayed. France –elegance and pride, a little overplayed. Japan–an intense determination to reconcile industry and a sense of order. Australia–relax, digger, take it easy! Try out the giants (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) for yourself. They were too big for any keynoting I could come up with. (Perhaps all giants are!)

The pavilions that did use hooks, I think, came the closest to failure. It was fascinating to see in this category such unexpected couples as Cuba and the Economic Progress exhibit (the latter not to be confused with the European Common Market, and the Office of Economic Development, both of which did restrained, if rather statistical, jobs). Or Sermons from Science on the one hand and Quebec Industries on the other (and the latter not to be confused with the Quebec Pavilion, which I think was an artistic *tour de force*). The exhibits that came closest to department stores got the quickest walk-throughs: and one which was nothing *but* a department store had the most bored-looking set of shufflers I saw at the Fair. They were wisecracking, too, which is sure evidence that something had "come-off."

9. The spirit of youth.

For a national enterprise celebrating its hundredth birthday, for a public undertaking that had to conjure out funds from our three levels of government, EXPO was surprisingly, enticingly, youthful. Youngsters were everywhere presented as people, they were certainly catered for. In dozens of films: "To Be Alive" (the U.N. pavilion) where you might not have expected it, if you didn't remember the world concern about children of so many U.N. agencies, as distinct from the Security Council; that superb Ontario film, "A Place to Stand", which even the U.S. pavilion's "Children's Games" couldn't touch for universality; and so many others. The Youth pavilion itself (devoted to arts and crafts, please note as well as jive). *La Jeunesse Musicale*–serious music, much instruction, but *la jeunesse sérieuse*. The robots in Ontario, the mods in Britain, pop art all over; all kinds of touches in the Canada pavilions, in Ontario, and in Quebec. And of course the hostesses.

Some of this was intentional; some of it simply reflects demography—there literally *are* more young people today, particularly in Canada. There were a few nudges in the direction of adult responsibilities (the quiz tricks in the Canada pavilions, for example were very well conceived); life isn't all fun and games. Still, the accent on youth reflects our present perplexities. Who is the world *for*, anyway? I'm sure the Chicago Fair of 1851 and the Paris Exhibition of 1900 were old sobersides compared to our youthful "67."

10. An unexpected lesson in bilingualism?

EXPO resounded to two languages. "Expo soixante-sept," intoned the Métro. "Tout le monde descendre, everybody out", rang out every few minutes from those "technicolour tramways" in the sky. The British pavilion offered everything in impeccable French, not just the French pavilion, and the Quebec one, where you would expect it. Some of us discovered that French is spoken in Africa. Even the Western Provinces tried it out—not quite as comfortably, it seemed to me, as Ontario. Montrealers, of course are used to it (rue Ste. Catherine Street, etc.): and so are all the United Nations agencies. But at EXPO we had it as part of the fun, mixed in with relaxation, with the arts, and with our education.

Is this so bad? Didn't it add something? Can anybody deny it made us very distinctive—especially to our American friends? And more cosmopolitan—in a way that charmed many overseas visitors? In one queue I listened to a young student (from Harvard, no less—complete with beard) telling two French-Canadian ladies, who were taking it very well, how astonishing it was to hear everybody speaking French. I couldn't resist telling him it had been going on for three hundred years. And there was the New Yorker (I suspect) who wanted to know who those SVP's were they were supposed to please. (When I enlightened him, his bright little wife remembered the RSVP's on their invitation cards).

Maybe youth is in this, too. Bilingualism just isn't practical for adults outside of Quebec, except for francophones—who should have the right to it. But I don't see any real difficulties for the younger generation, if we make some wise provisions. And EXPO has stimulated them in a way never matched by any other national event.

11. Canada looked pretty healthy.

Which brings me to my final reflection. Canadians being what they are, the feature of EXPO most likely to be taken for granted was Canada itself. But the multiple parts of the Canadian section were a mini-Expo in themselves. And a magnificent one. The five films in the revolving theatre (especially the hilarious "piano" in the middle), the humanity of the people-tree, the sense of space of the Katimavik roof, the open air and salty humour of the Maritime pavilion, the conscious concern with aesthetics in the Quebec pavilion, the thrilling climax of those great trees in Western Canada, the Karsh photos in the library, the empathy of the children's Creative Centre, the sense of energy in the Ontario pavilion, the fun of that old-iron smoke-breathing monster in the lagoon—surely we've never assembled anything like this before!

This was not the bewhiskered Fathers of Confederation, not Tory Toronto or the Quebec stereotype of habitants and maple syrup, and it wasn't a gaggle of rather querulous provincial premiers hurling darts at that bogey, "Ottawa." This was a national "happening", all the better for being in Montreal. It has been a get-together, if I may steal a phrase, that deserves to be known by its good taste alone. This was Montreal's—and Canada's—Tivoli, but on a world scale. Come and have fun, was the obvious message; but almost without realizing it, we said also, come and see how civilized we can be. This particular manifestation of "Canada" seemed infectiously, irrepressibly healthy. If Confederation was in danger, it sure didn't look that way down there! And somehow I think, and I think lots of others have thought, the "EXPO-sure" is going to help us find our way out.

The Re-Entry of China into The World Community

J. R. KIDD

(Some notes about China after a visit in 1965.)

For ten years I have felt, and have been saying that we would not have a truly international movement of adult education until it includes the Chinese. This has nothing to do with the acceptance or rejection of Communism—it is simply the recognition of one awesome but simple fact—the existence of China. What is happening in China? What is adult education like? On one historic occasion when Mr. Churchill was in Paris, he began his speech: "Prenez-garde! Je vais parler en francais!'

Prenez-garde! I was in China all of *seven* days. What I have to say will be impressionistic and fragmented. My main plea will be that more adult educationists travel to China to study systematically what I have just had the opportunity to perceive dimly.

I should have been prepared for the first, most arresting impression. To simplify it, but not to distort it too much, China is the creation of two schoolmasters. Of course I knew that the teacher Confucius had had the greatest impact of anyone on Chinese character, and morality, and behaviour. Teachers have always been respected in China, the word for teacher is a common family name. I should have also remembered that while Confucius seems to have been overthrown, it is not that so much as that he has been replaced by another school teacher, Mao Tse-Tung. The Chinese revolution differs from the French and Russian and American in several ways, but one of the most important is that the master-revolutionary Mao was a teacher, a librarian, a poet, a moralist. Such a man doesn't stop when the fighting stops; he continues to instruct, and propagandize and educate. In China today you can never escape the influence of Teacher Mao—as he urges greater intellectual effort; he admonishes the slack, he gives an example of abstemious conduct and he requires physical labour as a component of all formal education. The revolution goes on in China—continuing revolution through continuing education.

The second vivid impression is of the people. They are not just numerous; they are extremely impressive in performance. Most of them are drab in appearance. Almost everyone seems to wear a clean, often washed, rather shapeless garment, and while many men are handsome, and many women fine-featured, no one seemed to take much thought about personal appearance. Everyone is, as I had been told, honest. Few locks are seen; none seem to be needed. If any possession is left around, it is picked up immediately and returned. I walked alone through many sections of Peking and Canton with no apprehension at all, with none of the watchfulness I might exercise in parts of New York or London or Copenhagen or even Montreal or Toronto. Even in the heat, and in crowded ways they seem to deal fairly and compassionately with each other. I saw no fights, heard no shouts or threats even in traffic, and met no drunks. Some of the streets and houses may be modest and plain, but everything is clean. What kind of a propaganda or education campaign produced a result like that you might well ask.

The third impression is of rigid priorities—of a firm decision to utilize scarce resources for certain clear goals. The needs of an individual are being cared for, but little attention is being paid as yet to his wants. He is expected, or rather is taught, to want what he needs, or what is being provided.

Examples are many. One is the abiding interest of all in the 'people's communes.' There are thousands of these, taking up most, if not all the arable land in China. The commune I visited, and those that I travelled through in a train, or passed over in an airplane, gave impressive evidence of soil management and extremely efficient farm practices. Irrigation, the use of every foot of soil, rotation of crops, management of livestock, all are handled with extraordinary skill. Perhaps not all communes are as successful as those I saw, but judged for agricultural output the total results must be admirable. But the 'commune' is concerned with much more than agricultural production; it looks after marketing and provides consumer goods, it manages nurseries and schools, it administers social welfare, it offers recreation. I found that the young officers of the Sino-Cuban commune near Peking which I visited seemed competent to manage every aspect. When I questioned them about their own education and preparation they were very modest. They knew too little; they had picked up some training in short courses given by extension workers, had learned a few things by trial and error, were hoping to obtain further training. They were determined to step up production and develop a more satisfactory social and recreational life as soon as further education could be provided.

For all their modesty, the kind of training offered to these young men and other members of the commune, must be remarkable. Of course, with high *morale educational results are usually magnificent. The magic* is in the morale.

Is life on the commune satisfying? As far as one can tell, it is so now. Every year for nearly ten years, the commune has increased its output, bought new machinery, built new facilities, improved housing and amenities. The people are doing these things for themselves and naturally they are proud and buoyed up by such practical accomplishments. Will life lose some of its savour when most agricultural targets are met, when there are houses and schools and sports for all? My hosts laughed at the question; they do not anticipate any difficulty.

Another high priority is higher education. Peking, for its four or five million people, has at least half as many institutions of higher learning—universities, colleges, institutes of language, science and technology—as has Canada. Money, resources and trained people have been devoted to higher education in many other cities as well. The places are free; they are reserved for capable students and one of the major problems faced is how best to select the candidates for university. Every student is expected to do some physical labour every year or serve in some community development project. Professional men, doctors, engineers, teachers and nurses, upon graduation, all go out to work in rural districts for the first few years.

If you are a visitor to Peking, you are taken to a number of museums. Usually one starts with the ancient Imperial Palace with its scores of temples and pagodas, including the famous Forbidden City. Next is the Great Hall of the People, nearly a quarter of a mile long, containing a magnificent assembly hall, a dining hall in which 5,000 people can dine, and a meeting room named after each province filled with artistic treasures of that specific region. Across the vast Ten An Men Square, are the double museums of Chinese history and Chinese revolutions. Nearby is the Palace of the Nationalities built in honour of all the other ethnic or language groups that are found in China. The Summer Palace, the military museums, The Ming Tombs, and many other places are also shown to the visitor, and every day to hundreds of school children and youths. Along with the wonders, and the glorious art, ancient and modern, the observer gets a well-planned account of Chinese history—about the successive struggles of peasant against landlords, of brave men against tyrants, of Chinese against foreign imperialists, of communists against the Kuomintang. All of the museums have a strong message, the story line is clear, the exhibits, the quotations from Chairman Mao, and the guides all are lucid and forceful in their interpretation.

The same message is also put out in bold posters that one sees in every school and factory and station. It is also the theme of almost every moving picture and of the new ballets that seem to be replacing the traditional themes and choreography, of the Peking Opera. Sometimes, as in 'The East is Red,' the propaganda is compelling, deeply moving and quite frightening. Sometimes, as in the new ballets, where the enemy are so badly caricatured, and so much like the villains in the old-fashioned melodrama as they posture and cringe, that some members of the audience seemed to be embarrassed and laughed nervously.

Less expensive, perhaps, but no less important for education and propaganda are the thousands of inexpensive books, posters, comic books, magazines. Some of these repeat the main propaganda themes; they exhort people to greater efforts, in production or keeping fit, or in helping their comrades build better homes. The comic book form is also used for drill in language. In many parts of China, Canton for example, the people used to speak a special dialect. Now one observes children on the bus, and in the park, and running elevators, reviewing Mandarin out of a comic book kind of primer. Five years of a similar kind of effort and most of the children in Ontario would have French and most of the children of Quebec would have English.

Travel in China is costly. So travel for young people and adults, to Peking for instance to see the museums, or to any other national shrine for a national purpose is subsidized. Most of the universities, museums, schools, theatres and parks are open for education and recreation in the evening as well as the day.

What is now being planned is a vast program of 'part-time schooling.' Within ten years it is expected that almost every young person will begin an experience of work while still in his 'teens.' All Chinese secondary school children do some manual work now, but the difference will be substantial. The young people will then be gainfully employed while continuing with part-time schooling, rather than students who occasionally help with the harvest. University education will be available for those who are intellectually competent and who also perform well in work and in physical fitness. There will be a few exceptions—some young people will be taken out of the main stream and kept at such studies as languages, or mathematics where mastery depends upon sustained attention and study. An aspect of the part-time study plan is that it will be available for people at every age. In other words, many forms of continuing education will be provided in a plan designed for the preparation of the young.

Chairman Mao's, or rather the People's Revolution still goes on. The education that permeates it and is a product of it, requires a good deal of evaluation. Can the successes achieved in agricultural production associated with the people's communes be obtained in other ways? Will social life in the commune continue to be satisfying and will it prove to be stimulating of intellectual and creative endeavour? Can the means by which honesty, sobriety, hard work, devotion to social goals which are, at least in part, so admirable, can these means be utilized in a society with different forms of social control? Will the plan of part-time schooling work well in practice? Can the training of managers in China be applied elsewhere? These are only some of the scores of questions that one confronts even in a few short days.

I cannot begin to make an assessment, but much of what has been done seems commendable. Some western visitors appear loathe to give credit for accomplishment. Does the fact of Chinese successes make us less confident about our own programs? Surely we need not be so childish. Do we feel threatened by Chinese achievements? Surely the best hope, in the difficult days ahead, is that the Chinese people will be proud of what they have built, and that they will have much that they wish to preserve. The kind of military adventures which we often hear can be expected of China are far more likely to be carried out by desperate men with nothing to lose than by the parents of a growing and developing society.

One final note. It is possible for Canadians to visit China. It's not easy, but the door is open.

This summer several hundred visitors from France were there. Canadian teachers, engineers, doctors, factory workers, housewives will all be welcomed. It will be one-way traffic, for a while. But it is important that more of us know these proud, resourceful, resentful, suspicious, amazing people. You need not expect Utopia or Shangri La, but you will find much that is impressive, much that will make you wonder. And you can play your part in keeping alive some communion between peoples.

III Organizing for Work

"The 21st Century should mark the consolidation of the school system into a continuing program of individual development, extending from the nursery school through an extraordinary rich and varied fare . . . wherein each and all may be properly nourished, to post-graduate courses of academic and technical education . . . and to programs of adult and leisure time education. There will be a blurring of the present sharp lines dividing school from work experience, perhaps to the point where schooling in continued education will be a normal part of daily work, and where work experience at secondary and post secondary will be considered an essential part of a complete education."

HONOURABLE W. G. DAVIS
PREMIER OF ONTARIO
THEN MINISTER OF EDUCATION

"The very casualty of the present day-school system may well be the whole business of teacher-led instruction as we know it."

MARSHALL MCLUHAN

The process that William Davis prophesied in the early 1960's has already proceeded a long way: it may be fully expressed long before 2,000 A.D.

Canadian adult education developed almost a century before the 1960's, was moulded long before the general acceptance of ideas of lifelong learning. The organizational shapes have always been much more varied than those in conventional classrooms, they are responsive to all the media of communication, as well as the wishes of people about how they would prefer to associate with each other. There are classrooms of course, and educational institutions, but learning happens in homes, where people work and where they shop, where they seek relaxation and where they retreat to be alone for a time from social clamour.

Adult education begins when the state no longer compels attendance; it continues until the last rites. It is for the under-educated, and while failure is rarely the fault of the learner, far too many Canadians are under-educated. It is also for all of the elites, a means for them to continue to learn and grow, like the famed cellist, Pablo Casals, who, when President Kennedy asked the 85 year old musician why he practiced many hours every day, said, "Because I intend to improve, Mr. President."

People need access to learning, throughout their lifetime. This requires organization.

It requires good facilities, such as well designed residential centres. It requires institutions, those that are committed to the task, responsive to the needs and capable of fostering adult learning. It requires some full-time, experienced and well-trained practitioners.

It requires research that is directed to solving problems, information, evaluation.

It requires attention to the methods that make self-learning productive and to group organization because people grow and develop through social, corporate experiences as well as in isolation.

Particularly at this stage of development, it requires sound policies.

(1) Some Organizing Principles

Three statements follow, all of them concerned with directions for education in general and adult education in particular. The first is an abridgement of the White Paper produced by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the second from the Quance Lectures, and the third a candid reflection of an experienced adult educator.

Learning is the fifth freedom

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION (1966)

Principles

Our recommendation for a comprehensive national development of Continuing Education, in which all of the levels of government, private and public agencies, would play co-operating roles, is based on the following principles:

Individuals learn throughout their lives, not merely at the beginning. This principle is violated by the philosophy implicit in our present system which concentrates the education process during the individual's early years only.

Learning is always a voluntary act. Freedom and initiative must be left to the learner. Any system we create must embody this principle: whatever a citizen chooses to learn is important simply because he chooses to learn it. Society must respond with encouragement and facilities.

The more effective the existing formal educational system becomes, the more acute the need for a well-developed system of Continuing Education. Fully developed, the formal system creates an appetite for learning which, if left unsatisfied, leads to dissatisfaction and frustration. The existence of a larger proportion of the young with better education than ever before is a major factor in our technical development and rate of change.

But the time is past when any society can hope to endure by concentrating all of its educational resources on life's early years. Where we are failing is in our reluctance to recognize this single fact: the continuing, growing complexity of life means that further concentration on the education of children alone is self-defeating.

The development of Continuing Education cannot be left to chance. To date we have been allowing existing opportunities for further learning to accentuate social and economic inequalities. Just as the gap between developing and developed countries continues to grow, so the gap between those individuals with more access to opportunities for learning and those with less grows also.

A system of Continuing Education must include the activities of a great variety of agencies in Canada and it must be developed in the light of a logical national plan. The proper development of Continuing Education requires the re-orientation of the entire educational system. It involves more than the simple addition of a few programs or the response to temporary pressures. Full acceptance of this idea means that we must discard the notion that a student can or must learn everything needed for a life-time before completing his formal schooling. It means the end of the idea of education as a short, early period of 'preparation for life', and the acceptance of learning as a normal activity at every age. It means the re-examination of practices now embodied in administration, finance, curriculum, planning and all other aspects of education derived from the conventional child-centred system. It means the existence at any one time of a great variety of educational enterprises, some short and some long term, of the maintenance of many diverse curricula.

The physical environment in which adults learn is of immense social, political and moral importance. Just as any young student forms a loyalty and affection for his school or university, so, too, do adults develop a loyalty towards those agencies which assist them in learning. We have so far both intellectually and administratively failed to appreciate this fact.

Since Adult Education has been left largely to chance, most of the agencies promoting it have been private ones. It makes a difference in one's loyalties and sense of citizenship and one's attitudes towards society whether one is educated by a university, or an industrial corporation, or a political organization. While all are potentially capable of doing the job well, we must ensure a proper balance between private and public education.

The present dominant concentration on the young creates a serious discontinuity in the lives of our citizens and will lead to disaster if continued. Any examination of the problems now associated with *youth* and with *aging* is sufficient evidence of this fact. Learning is a major means by which individuals can deal with a changing society and remain themselves.

Freedom of access to learning opportunities throughout our life will decrease the crises of the young and old so apparent in Canada and provide continuity both in individual lives and in the society, encouraging a ready and productive response to change. Merely concentrating our resources on the young for lengthening periods not only isolates them from the main stream of society, but inhibits their ability to respond in later years.

Learning is both an individual and national resource. It not only requires energy and talent, it releases it. In all of the great adventures of this country – the settlement of the West, immigration, the two world wars and other important movements – special opportunities were provided for adult learning. We believe that this was of the greatest significance in supporting national unity and individual morale, and that these endeavors succeeded and were characterized by excitement, determination and imagination because adults were engaged in learning. It is, after all, individuals not societies that learn.

In a society committed to change, access by the individual to opportunities for learning is not a privilege but a right. In this society – the kind we have in Canada today – learning should be the fifth freedom. Canada has provided these opportunities in times of national need. It is only simple justice and common sense to provide them now. Only through learning can an individual maintain his integrity in the face of massive and haphazard change. Without access to the means of learning what he needs to know, he remains only a victim; with such access he has an opportunity to participate intelligently in change.

We believe that Canada is engaged in yet a new adventure: the direction of rapid change in every field of human activity and in every aspect of national life. Given the opportunity through Continuous Learning to play a significant part, all our people will respond.

There is no one who cannot learn something. We cannot as a society continue to write off one group as unintelligent in favor of those who learn quickly and well. There are people at any age who are capable of learning different things with different degrees of skill. We must as a society respond to all of them. In a society where learning is a norm, non-learners tend to become destructive members. They become unable to adjust to change and sometimes feel they must protect themselves against change.

Proposals

Administration

A system of Continuing Education will not succeed unless the majority of students are voluntary. The individual learner must choose his own path and his own method. Therefore, for both practical and ethical reasons, the system must be centred on the learner and the administrative structure must be designed with the maximum room for individual and group initiative. We are not contending that there is no place for provincial, national or institutional leadership. We are, however, insisting that leadership expressed through a system of short-term goals is doomed to failure if it does not make maximum provision for individual choice and determination. There is a tendency for institutions to set specific goals, such as fighting a war, or beating inflation. But we have to support the right of the individual to set his own goals. The individual must play a larger part in the management of a system of continuous learning, in the planning of curriculum, where and when he will go to school and other conditions of learning. He must participate more in financing and evaluation than is common in the conventional child-centred system. We therefore make the following recommendations:

1 The Individual

The individual must be able to choose his own path of development. To do so he must be financially and intellectually able. Where need exists, scholarships must be provided, perhaps of a kind comparable to present arrangements for retraining but of a much greater adequacy. Secondly, there must be very much more adequate systems of information, counselling and guidance than now exist. Without information on what exists and what is relevant, the individual is not free to choose. Such provisions as are made by the National Employment Service must be strengthened and broadened with a far greater educational component. A national system of information regarding courses, materials, institutions, entrance requirements, etc., must be made available if Continuing Education is ever to work effectively. The selection of educational opportunity is not the same as the choice involved in buying a car or refrigerator. Educational choices are among the most important any individual makes and yet they are treated with less seriousness than these simple acts of retail purchase.

2 School Boards

The principle of local administrative participation in Continuing Education is even more important perhaps than it is in the education of children. School boards must become responsible to their communities for developing a system of Continuing Education. The present system of provincial control and finance we believe is not encouraging the necessary freedom for school boards to make the sorts of decisions regarding curriculum, education and teaching methods that they alone can make. The board must be looked to by all citizens as a basic educational leader and resource for the entire community. The present systems of finance and planning must be re-examined and rationalized so that local initiative is stimulated. On the other hand, boards themselves must accept responsibilities for the entire community of all ages and be willing to plan co-operatively with other agencies and offer the proper encouragement. A number of major boards have already provided valuable examples; it is up to the others to follow in their own way.

3 Provincial Governments

History and national policy have so far entrusted the Provincial Governments with responsibility for education. They must make more adequate plans for the education of all ages. They cannot continue to fulfill this responsibility without supporting Continuing Education in all its diversity. They must provide grants to a great variety of institutions, and at the same time encourage and participate in extensive experimentation with courses, techniques, location and more flexible financial arrangements. The day of a simple unified system consisting of elementary, secondary and university education is gone. Freedom and growth are to be found only in immense diversity and complexity, to be maintained only with difficult and constant change.

The Provincial Government must be aware that a wide variety of its activities now sharply segregated into departments involve a response to learning and that those responses must be co-ordinated and made intelligible to all of our citizens. It must respond to its provincial community with flexibility, aware of its responsibility to lesser organizations and agencies, and of its greater powers, financial and otherwise. It is not a matter simply of creating a department or branch for Adult Education. It is a matter of ensuring the continuity of opportunity for learning through all areas of government activity.

4 The Federal Government

We can find no constitutional restriction on the Federal Government's participation in Continuing Education. It seems to us to be a matter of choice or of private agreement between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments, rather than one of constitutional rights, as to how this participation is best carried out. The Federal Government is already heavily engaged in Adult Education, and in many respects in secondary and elementary as well. These activities are to be found within such nomenclature as manpower development, basic skill training, community development, training for citizenship, health and others. Many opportunities are presently obscured from individual citizens in the complex Federal-Provincial agreements whereby in some cases parallel educational systems are being created.

Our belief in local and regional initiation, combined with the greater financial resources of the Federal Government, inclines us to support these agreements, provided the role of the Federal Government is made both more apparent and more flexible. The vital commitment of the Federal Government should be further expressed in at least three ways:

a/Finance

Because of the relatively greater earning power of the Federal Government and because increased individual development makes itself felt in increased income more quickly than anywhere else, the Federal Government has a responsibility to provide financial assistance both directly to individuals through loans, scholarships, bursaries, etc., and indirectly through Provincial Governments and other institutions. Although national policy at times will require investment in particular sorts of development and particular kinds of institutions, we believe the Federal Government overall has a responsibility for supporting individual learning based on individual choice. This is more apt to be assisted by direct grants to individuals than any other way. A system of national scholarships open to all ages, and appropriate to a greater variety of educational endeavors is necessary. This sort of financing is noticeably lacking in Canada. The extension of Family Allowances to age 18 is one example of such assistance, but we believe that this is mistaken in its present form. At present, by giving the support to parents instead of directly to the students, it merely reinforces the dependence of the learner at the very time when he should be making a voluntary commitment to learning.

b/Research and Planning

Canada is under-developed in its resources for educational research, particularly in areas outside the conventional age groups. If we are to create the system we are recommending as absolutely necessary, and then use it efficiently, much greater resources must go into the gathering of data on which planning is to be based. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has performed miracles with limited resources. While provinces are increasing their activities in this field, we do not believe that this is sufficient for the sort of national response we must have. The increased mobility of our population is such that regional planning, even for children, is not adequate. Much more is clearly required for the fully articulated system of Continuing Education which is now necessary.

c/Professional Development

Canada is notably deficient in professional opportunities for leaders and administrators of any educational endeavors outside of the conventional system. The planning, administration and teaching of a system of Continuing Education demands quite different skills than those appropriate for the formal system. At present few universities offer anything like a comprehensive program for the development of professionals in Adult Education. Others offer bits and pieces. We need many major centres across Canada, and we are convinced that leadership from the Federal Government would materially help such developments. The country urgently requires a greatly expanded system of Continuing Education, but this cannot be achieved satisfactorily without appropriate investment in the provision of trained people to conduct it.

What we are proposing, aside from the central commitment of the Federal Government to Continuing Education, is a centre of responsibility for it in the present Federal administration. The creation of an Office of Education based on a concept of Continuing Education, and devoted to the three major activities we have outlined, would give a substantial impetus to the system and the society, and would not violate constitutional provisions or the confidence of various cultural and regional interests in the country.

Finance

The entire question of financing Continuing Education in Canada needs examination. It is in this area, more than anywhere else, that the present system in piecemeal, makeshift and opportunistic. Report after report of Royal Commissions and other investigations have nodded briefly in the direction of Continuing Education and proceeded to intense elaboration of systems already obsolete in concept. We are not recommending the simple extension of the principle of completely state-supported education to the adult sector. The principle of co-operation already advanced indicates the sharing of costs. There is room for a variety of schemes that allow for greater financial participation by the individual but which also provides for assistance where there is need.

We have already commented on the fact that there is an extensive private system of further education in Canada. While we welcome activities and achievements to be found in that sector, we are also aware that its very existence creates some injustices for adult citizens. We think that co-operative activities between the private system and government such as those provided for by Program 4 of the Vocational-Technical Training Plan, and between the private sector and various public educational agencies, are to be encouraged. We also think that recognition, financial and otherwise, must be made of those citizens who do not now have access to these private and mixed systems.

This society must discuss and decide whether an individual who improves himself in any way by learning is a greater beneficiary than the community. Without proper consideration, the general inclination of the society is to conclude that it is the individual who profits most and that he should therefore pay his own way. Yet there are enough exceptions to this practice to make this response both impractical and unjust. The simple alternative is to conclude that by and large it is the community that benefits from the enlargement of imagination, the increase in skill and judgment. Therefore, the overall support of learning is entirely worth the few failures and the few exploiters that may result. If we believe truly that the society exists for the benefit of its citizens, and that able, imaginative, growing citizens benefit the society, the support of their learning in all its remarkable variety must be seen as a community concern.

There are two major principles in educational finance: one is to subsidize institutions which in turn recruit their own students, the other to subsidize students who will then choose their institutions. Obviously we cannot and should not choose one of these to the total exclusion of the other. Institutions requiring continuity and large capital outlays cannot be left to the vagaries of student choice; nor should students over the school-leaving age be left entirely at the mercy of institutions. Canada has experienced both practices and still provides for both, though the weight has been heavily in favor of the institutions in recent years. While we believe that the provision of capital facilities for education is something that the state must assume, we also believe that there is a great need for greater support of individuals, particularly those outside of the conventional ages. At present, on just this ground they are heavily discriminated against.

Conclusion

We believe that Canada is presently on the threshold of the concept and practice of education that we are recommending as a national policy. But there is a major difference between extending in bits and pieces a system based on education as preparation at the beginning of life and seizing the full concept of continuity of *education for all at any time*. While we realize that a national system of Continuing Education will not solve all our national problems, we are sure that none of them – poverty, automation, expanding knowledge or economic growth – is at all solvable without such a concept.

To undertake it, to implement it, thereby placing the learner and learning in the central position in the society, would help us emerge, confident and vigorous, into our second century to which we may belong more surely than we seem at present to belong to this one.

Individuals when learning are more energetic, more tolerant and more humane. To support the learner and learning at all ages is surely the most solid cornerstone we can provide for the Canada of the future.

Organizing for Lifelong Learning

J. R. KIDD (1966)

> *For the Quance Lectures the Author proposed principles to govern the organization of lifelong learning. This is a condensation of his published address.*

Perhaps the most comprehensive and most radical of all educational ideas is that of *lifelong learning* or in the French *Education Permanente*. It is not a new notion; it is as old as the race, but it never was taken seriously until the present. Even now its full meaning has not penetrated very far and its implications have not been grasped.

But a change is coming.

And not in Canada alone. A hundred years or so ago when Egerton Ryerson in Canada and Horace Mann in the United States were fighting the prolonged and bitter battles to make it possible for all children to go to school, the battlefield was a single Canadian province and a few American states. Fifty years later the idea of free universal schooling for children had still not penetrated more than a dozen countries. But today the notion of continuous learning is being actively studied and debated in scores and scores of countries. At the General Conference of UNESCO in 1964 one hundred and eighteen countries gave unanimous approval to the recommendation:

> *"the various forms of out-of-school and adult education should be regarded as an integral part of the educational system, so that all men and women, throughout their lives, may have the opportunities for pursuing education conducive alike to their individual advancement and to their participation in civic life and in the social and economic development of their country."*

Now it is one thing to issue statements and resolutions and another for the words to be transmuted into actions. Perhaps few who spoke the words at UNESCO realized all that they implicate. But the results are beginning to show.

Most advocates of any cause or nostrum today speak of it as *new, revolutionary, total*. These words are almost clichés. Are they as shallow and dishonest when applied to "continuous learning" as they are when used to introduce this year's dress styles, or yet another example of television trivia, or the platform of some political party hungry for office?

What are the dimensions of the new idea? Has it substance or only shadow?

India's famous poet and patriot, Mrs. Sarojani Naidu once wrote: "Our knowledge should be as deep as the ocean, our angle of vision as wide as the horizon, and our ideals as high as the heaven." Naidu was a poet but not a deluded visionary. She knew that, to face the practical realities of survival and change in the Indian subcontinent, all of the dimensions must be probed, explored, developed.

For lifelong learning there is a *perpendicular* dimension—of learning continuing throughout the entire life-span consonant with all of the divisions of education from the nursery school to post Ph.D.

There is a *horizontal* dimension of learning penetrating into every discipline, into every form of intellectual and spiritual activity known to man, and bursting through the artificial barriers erected between fields of study.

There is a *depth* dimension, of learning responding to simple needs on, up, and into the most agonizing, or most sublime search for the truth that "sets us free."

We are not talking about a fad of the moment, or a limited advance, or a single field of education. Note, lifelong learning covers a whole lifetime. It is not a synonym for adult education, it is consonant with all education and is the concern of all.

Perhaps I can illustrate my meaning best with a series of propositions which I put forward tentatively for study and debate:

First, *the notion of lifelong learning is in harmony with the views of great educationists throughout the ages*. There is a Russian saying that "education is a seamless robe." It is also a Chinese saying, and an Indian saying, and a German saying, and an English saying.

However, education is not a seamless robe if we cut it into completely disconnected strips, called disciplines, or divisions, or if we value a part of the cloth—liberal education, let us say, as regal and splendid, and spurn another part, perhaps vocational education, as sackcloth, fit only for carrying coal or ashes. We need to affirm that the entire robe of learning, all of it, is precious.

Second, *the application of lifelong learning can result in sharing the power derived from education*.

Since education is often the key to power and economic development as well as individual advancement, opportunity for an education must be shared. This goal can be attained more completely if education is extended throughout life and the possibility of obtaining education is thus spread, not only over more years but before those who develop more slowly, those who start without the capital of money or position and have to win a place for themselves, and those who suffered handicaps or made a poor start in youth but have recovered as adults.

Third, *the span of a lifetime makes possible certain educational goals that are otherwise in doubt*.

One of the problems of the schools has always been how to teach certain ideas or achieve certain kinds of growth when a lengthy timespan is necessary for maturation, or considerable experience of life is an essential prelude to full understanding.

For example, how do you teach honour, or justice, or international understanding, or help an individual become healthily critical of himself, or society without becoming a cynic, one who has faith in nothing? It is much too simple an answer to these baffling questions to say that the time span for education must be extended. Yet only where education is available when and as needed will some of life's most difficult questions be faced.

Fourth, *lifelong learning will help correct some of the discontinuities of modern life.*

Continuous learning is no panacea for social breakdown. It will not solve all problems growing out of the cleavages between ages and groups in society, or the alienation of youth and older people. Yet, education as one continuous evolving process does offer a context for promoting the continuity of living as well as learning.

Fifth, *lifelong learning can reduce substantially the remoteness and estrangement of youth.*

Putting children away in schools, while it was a mark of our valuing them, or valuing what they might eventually become, has always had one unfortunate consequence. It set children and youth apart from life. For a few years, now for a great many years, they live in a kind of chrysalis where they can observe and feel and perhaps be over-excited and injured by, but never really a part of the life around them.

The corollary of lifelong learning is that one never withdraws from life for the purpose of learning.

Sixth, *lifelong learning brings into association all of the members of the educational family.*

Of course there is, and should be, specialization in education, specialization in subject and function, according to need and experience and capacity. But these are not separate and distinct entities, they ought not to result in separate tracks of different gauge over which no traveller could have a continuous journey.

Not only are there gaps and barriers between the divisions of education: too often there has been estrangement, even suspicion and conflict between the various individuals, teachers, and administrators responsible for education. With the full acceptance of continuous learning the practitioners in any field will see more clearly their common interest, common destiny, and common allegiance to learning.

Seventh, *the calling of the teacher or educationist will become the most significant in society.*

This has been true of certain societies in the past—in India and China for example, and today it is becoming generally understood that education is the key to economic and social progress. However, it is true that the teacher has often been undervalued. He has become a familiar character in fiction and drama, rarely heroic, sometimes pictured as ineffectual, often lampooned.

Fragmentation

Part of the explanation for the comparatively low status enjoyed by teachers in some countries has been fragmentation and isolation of various organizations of teachers. Moreover, too little attention has yet been paid to the scores and hundreds of part-time teachers of adults. Since these are often leaders in corporations, government, professions, trade unions, women's groups, their engagement as teachers will itself make a difference in the way that the function of teaching is regarded in society. Before long, teaching, full-time or part-time, will be an activity enrolling a vast number of people and even more of the leaders in society.

Meanwhile, one of the most encouraging developments is the number of university teachers who have ceased to stand aside and criticize the schools for their failure in giving youth a better education and have instead, "taken off their coats" and have engaged in the difficult task of improving the curriculum and the preparation of teachers.

When teachers of all kinds are able to associate themselves to their mutual advantage, it will lead to a markedly different career of education, one in which the teacher will be more fully responsible and trusted.

Eighth, *lifelong learning offers a place and a context for those fields of education that have been neglected.*

All throughout the history of education many fields and disciplines have been treated as orphans and outcasts. Most of the fields, including scientific education, vocational education, psychology, and economics have suffered this treatment. The fiercest battles of all were fought to prevent the acceptance of medical education into the university although that field is now clothed in royal respectability.

With the acceptance of this notion, certain neglected fields, such as pre-school education and education of older people will no longer go undernourished.

Ninth, *lifelong learning is a concept essential to educational planning.*

No alert teacher ever doubted that money spent on education results in substantial economic and social increments. And now what was our secret is known to others. Hard-headed, practical, unsentimental bankers and business men and governors and administrators also share it. This is capped by a fairly recent announcement from the World Bank that henceforth sound educational enterprises will be considered for investment loans just as now are offered to agricultural or mining or power projects.

To be fair to the bankers, although they were exceedingly dilatory in understanding this simple truth, educationists rarely helped them very much. The way we organize education, the way we report what happens, the apparent confusion of goals and programs and institutions, make it difficult for a business man or a planner to form a unified impression about the impact of education. Educational planning means planning for a totality as well as for the parts.

Tenth, *the greatest boon conferred by lifelong education will be to free the curriculum planners in the schools from the necessity to teach everything.*

The most galling burden that comes with education conceived as preparation for life is the necessity to teach everything. For years teachers and administrators and school board officials have been perspiring under the pressure to add more and more, push in a little here, pile on something there, add a tincture or a colour or a shade—new subjects, new skills, new attitudes, even if the teachers were paralysed and the children were choked.

It was never possible for an elementary school or a secondary school or a university to offer all that needs to be learned, but in the face of the "explosion of knowledge" we can scarcely delude ourselves any longer. And the problem is not just the impossibility of absorbing or mastering immense quantities of information but that much of the knowledge, the skill, or the insights are possible only as persons mature.

If we plan for an entire life-time of learning we are not completely rid of the problem. The folk-saying, "so soon to die, so late to get smart" is still true, increasingly true. However, it is a very different undertaking to study what is needed at any stage in life, over scores of years not just a few years, than is the attempt, doomed to failure, of preparing in childhood for all that comes after.

Eleventh, *with the application of lifelong learning some false dichotomies will wither.*

It has become better understood by more of us that liberal education and vocational education need not be, are not, and must not be considered to have discrete or opposed educational objectives. Within the life span of any person there will be times, perhaps several times, when he will engage fully in vocational education. And there will be times, one hopes, over most of his three-score-and-ten for the education that liberates and enlivens. Both are worthy and are complementary, related, bound together. Other issues and false antitheses may also dissolve in the strong light of our concept.

Twelfth, *within this concept leisure time can be valued and utilized.*

It is common enough for the schools to be told that they "must educate for leisure" and some of them attempt to do what they can. But only an educational process co-terminous with living can deal adequately with a subject and an opportunity that is so enmeshed with life. Education need not just prepare people for leisure, it should affect the choices of all people, young and old, in their use of leisure.

Since leisure can and does mean restoration, recreation and renewal, much of leisure time for many people will be chosen to be spent in learning. Leave for study is becoming a much more common practice for factory workers as well as for teachers.

So much for the propositions. What do they mean?

Organized Guidelines

If there is to be coherence in education, it is essential for teacher-training institutes to offer training in principles and methods of adult education and every other field of education. These are needed not only for the comparative few who are preparing for a career but others who have significant involvement; for example, teachers, librarians, and public health doctors.

Increasingly, those teachers who have the wish and talent will be offered the opportunity to teach students at various ages and levels of experience. The desirable effects that have occurred when a secondary school master or a college professor has taught adult students or very young children will be multiplied.

Elementary schools will concentrate on teaching the basic skills of learning, mainly to children there under compulsion, but also to all adults who require this stage of education. The emphasis will be upon acquiring and practising skills of reading, speech, numbers and acquiring information about one's community, country, culture and world to make possible effective participation in the student's world as well as his progress towards further education.

Secondary schools will also be primarily for youth, but also for adults who require them, and will be a period of apprenticeship in learning as well as providing an introduction to many of the specialized areas to knowledge. Acquiring an attitude to, and an expectation of lifelong education, is as important as mastering the skills of learning. Neither for younger or for older students will the secondary school curriculum be cut off, be divorced from life. The "last chance" approach to curriculum planning will be ended.

In all probability there will be many examples of school systems designed to look after individuals of all ages, such as Rabindranath Tagore in India and Henry Morris in the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges have pioneered. In the Nova Schools in Florida one can take work at any level from nursery school to post-Ph.D., proceed at one's own speed according to one's interest and ability.

Universities and university professors will modify their attitude to and their involvement in other forms of education. The trend now observable in many countries, of the ablest scholars having some part in planning the curriculum at all levels will be much more common. One welcome by-product may be an improvement in the quality of instruction offered by university teachers which is, far too often, lamentably low.

Universities will offer more resources for the investigation of educational problems that require research. Entrance arrangements are becoming and will become more flexible so that more able students may take part in higher studies at convenient times throughout their lives.

All of the "professional" schools will offer a component of education for those candidates who will engage in some form of education. And it will be much less possible for any graduate of a university to leave with the feeling, alas now too common, that he can cast aside the gown of education and get on with living.

The implications of this concept for adult education are no less significant. Opportunities will be provided for adults not only in a few evening hours, or in a single form of organization, the extension or extra-mural class, but at convenient times and in all the forms of educational activity that have been found effective. The new Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology will become a form of education as significant as the secondary school.

Important/Urgent

One of the most significant aspects of the notion of continuous learning is that it may restore the primacy of the *important* over the *urgent*, because it brings a time and a breadth and a depth perspective.

As pointed out earlier it brings perspective to curriculum planning and may help prevent overloading at some critical points in the secondary or college years. It may help us deal with the real, immediate, and changing needs of young people without panicking or running away in the face of the passionate urgency of some of their demands.

The notion of continuous learning might bring some balance to the time-conscious, perplexed, perhaps well-intentioned television producers who seem to have their eyes fixed on attracting the largest possible audience and are willing to pay any price. It is a bitter joke to find able, intelligent men who have studied what a serious moralist, Marshall McLuhan has said, yet seem to be trapped within the philosophy of one of the most "successful" television personalities: "I try to give my audience what they want. Most of them are kids and kids like to see me spit on people. So I spit on people!"

Continuous learning may also bring greater understanding of the needs of an ever-larger number of older people who are disengaging from life. No country, not even Canada, is so rich that it can throw away its most precious resource, the hard-won experience and wisdom of its older people.

The concept might offer some guide lines for leisure time. Or for sports and athletics which now affect deeply millions of people all over the world. It is an extraordinary fact that most educationists pay little attention to athletics even though sports now constitute one of the most significant international languages.

In the kind of myths and beliefs that are associated, the rituals that are practiced, the acts of devotion and veneration, the anguish and the ecstasy aroused, sports are akin to religion. If you don't believe this, talk to a Brazilian about soccer, a New Zealander about rugby, a West Indian about cricket, or a Canadian about hockey.

Such a widespread and consuming devotion is not to be taken lightly. If we had understood this fact we might not so easily have given up the control of sports to that small professional clique who now control so much.

Concern with the urgent means concentration upon what a man is. But the most significant thing about man is not just what he is, but what he may become. Continuous learning is as much a matter of *becoming* as of *being*. A more appropriate question for a business man, or anyone else, might be: "What can you *become* that the computer can't?" About twenty centuries ago Epictetus had an answer for that: "Since we are men we will play the part of men."

Some Thoughts of an Adult Educator

A. S. R. TWEEDIE (1964)

One of the thoughts which occurs to an adult educator who has spent his whole professional life in that field is that adult education seems to be settling down. A re-examination of terms used with an easy familiarity over the years reveals that certain basic definitions appear to be standing the test of time. Of course, modern adult education is not exactly new. According to your interpretation of what is modern, you might be disposed to accept as the first reference to adult education in modern times a minute of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in England, dated March 8, 1700, in which two of its employees were commended for teaching poor adults at night to read and understand the Church of England Catechism. So there has been plenty of time for that settling down process which has relatively recently produced what I believe to be the best present definition of adult education. This emerged from a UNESCO seminar on the role of libraries in adult education held at Malmo, Sweden, July, 1950, and reads as follows: "Adult education is an effort put forth by a mature person to improve himself by acquiring new skills, information, understanding, attitudes, or appreciations, or the effort of an agency to present the opportunity and the encouragement to mature persons for improving themselves and their community". This is an improvement upon previous definitions in that it recognizes the tribute due to the effort, not necessarily successful, of an agency rather than of an individual in the matter of presenting both opportunity and encouragement to mature persons.

A relatively recent definition of the goal of adult education, contrived by the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. seems with equal success to be standing up. This reads " . . . the fundamental goal of adult education is to enable adults to deal intelligently, democratically and peacefully with the problems posed for individuals and communities by the pervasive fact of change." Although by now more than fifteen years old, this definition of goal was almost ahead of its time in directing attention to the effects of change, which while becoming evident in 1951, have by now become so truly pervasive that it may be said that in today's world the only constant is change.

Who or What?

From a list of definitions, however, one term is still conspicuously absent. No one has attempted a comprehensive answer to the question "What is an adult educator?" The time may have passed when the question can be answered in general terms. Without appearing to bow to any reverence of specialization, it seems necessary when confronting the professional adult educator to inquire whether he is primarily an administrator, a program planner, a researcher or an instructor. It is seldom that one man is either trained or effective in all these areas.

A convenient starting point from which to view these various aspects of the profession might be that of the training necessary to achieve efficiency in any one of them. In this respect, the researcher seems to be reasonably well situated. Whether there is or not, there ought to be, among major adult education agencies, a recognition that on their staffs they need an adult educator trained in research in order that he may illuminate the work of his colleagues specializing in programming, planning or administration, if these be separate functions in the agency concerned. However, it is necessary, and indeed it may be a belated question, to inquire how much of the research done by the man who calls himself an adult education researcher is in fact in that particular discipline, if discipline it be. How much, in reality, comes from other disciplines—psychology, sociology, anthropology, history? Is it possible that adult education is starting down a slippery slope in attempting to aggrandize itself by, almost artificially, creating an area for the purpose of claiming it as its own for research? It is clear, for instance, that much of value to the adult educator resides in the findings of research in the areas of the physiological and psychological changes attendant upon the normal process of aging. It is equally clear that the historian has important things to say to the adult educator. This list could be expanded.

I have from time to time been not particularly impressed by the list of topics said to be appropriate to the adult educator, which have formed the subjects of dissertations by those in the last stages of their progress towards doctoral degrees. Some of these, if their abstracts have been adequately prepared, smell of the midnight oil for its own sake. Something seems to be a little out of gear here.

My apprehensions in this matter have on more than one occasion been fanned by noting that the North American pursuit of the doctoral degree, often by means of the "stirring of dusty bones", attracts from the universities of older communities a certain amusement which appears to be increasingly tinged by an unfortunate measure of gentle contempt. Can it be that the pursuit of this higher degree has come to be a condition solely of professional survival? Has adult education gone off the track here? I believe it has. The total effort of those agencies concerned with the education and training of adult educators is out of balance. The massive requirement today is for face to face instructors capable of meeting mature students on the most productive terms, no matter in what setting. I am convinced that this urgent necessity is not receiving an adequate share of the training resources available. I feel that the universities concerned have, in some measure, lost touch with the realities of the situation in their understandable desire to take their students as high up the academic ladder as their capacities allow. At this moment we need to put a temporary brake, although not a complete halt, on the production of adult educators on the top rung of that ladder, if this involves concentration on research. What is urgently required is a substantial increase in competent instructors. These should be encouraged to develop both sensitivity and appreciation of the fruits of research. But let us apply a check rein on the rush into research, and direct most of the flow of adult educators under training to where it is, at this moment, most urgently required—the down to earth teaching situation.

I do not wish to sound a blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of Doctors of Philosophy in Adult Education. But the time is overdue to give a friendly warning toot on what I hope is not an offensively raucous horn. I do not wish to see my branch of the profession of education attract to itself the amused glance of those who understand the proper relative place of research in any educational enterprise and who deplore what seems to me to be the present distortion of the real requirements of our total situation. Adult education, of all branches of the profession of education, is the least insulated from the hard work-a-day realities among which its students have their being. Let us resist the temptation to acquire status by soaring off to the academic heights to count the number of angels who can balance on the point of a pin. Our adult students need the care of those who breathe their air. It is just possible that they might enjoy a more ample lungful if we started to bore in more heavily on recognizing the limitations of a research degree, and on developing more adequate programs of preparation at a lower, but equally important academic level. In the construction of training programs of this type, I recommended seeking the interest of up to date Schools of Business Administration, who have much to say to the adult educator in areas far removed from the mere counting of profits.

To Organize or Administer?

Moving my ground now, I would, as one of my casual thoughts, express the hope that the administrator of adult education programs will have the wisdom to ensure that fussy administration does not intrude into the classroom or seminar. Adult students, being in the main, although increasingly less so, in a teaching-learning situation of their own free will, will put up with little administrative nonsense, and will react badly to it. The chances are that they will remove themselves from such a contaminated atmosphere, or will add their resentment of its existence to that total which produces that astonishing paradox in which the adult, having entered the learning situation of his own free will, begins, once established therein, to exhibit all kinds of resistances.

And Where?

I suppose it is true to say that School Boards are by now probably one of the largest employers of instructors in adult education. When these are engaged in academically remedial adult education at the higher grades of High School education, the techniques which they learned in preparation for discharge of their teaching duties at that level are still reasonably adequate. But even at this point, something should be fed into their training so that they may more effectively, and acceptably, relate to the adults who are their students, and extract from them their individual contributions to their own development. Adults returning for completion of High School programs or re-entering a learning situation at any level tend to be uncomfortable and uneasy, to offer resistance in their new situation, and to exhibit characteristics well understood by the adult educator but not necessarily comprehended by even the most effective High School teacher unless he has received adequate instruction. For instance, what allowance does the instructor, in such circumstances, and indeed in the total adult education context, make for the fact that his students neither hear nor see as well as they did when they were young? What implications do these circumstances present which might govern his conduct as an instructor? Somebody has to tell him about this. His research-trained colleagues know what is happening and would be happy to come to his assistance as he otherwise faces some rather puzzling situations in which, in spite of his best efforts, things do not seem to be going very smoothly.

The instructor of adults in any system would probably appreciate being advised in advance that one of the secrets of approaching his adult class is at all times to extend to them the respect due from one adult to another. They will demand respect for their independence, they will resent it if their life experience is not recognized and they will exhibit considerable resistance if an instructor fails to take advantage of the fact that his adult students have what I call a built-in capacity for immediate analysis of material presented to them. This renders them strong indeed as students, and enables the instructor, with any luck at all, to reach the comfortable position in which he can regard himself and his students as co-learners. Possibly the ultimate here is reached when the instructor can create a situation in which he imitates the famous Cheshire cat in Alice in Wonderland. You will remember that this remarkable animal slowly faded from sight until all that was left was the grin. If, in suitable subjects of instruction, the instructor finds his presence less and less necessary until his students are hard at work educating each other from their own backgrounds, then we have a situation of real strength.

And Who?

I suppose any adult educator with a historical cast of thought must eventually wrench his contemplation from the past and contemplate the future. Two points among many presently engage my interest as I do so. The first is that it is probable that the pressure of economics, and possibly a subsequent legal pressure, will insist upon total completion of a High School program to the point that there will be no longer adults who can profit from remedial instruction at that level. An infinitely more important consideration which is at the moment exciting my imagination is that we are probably contemplating a future in which the human life span will be considerably in excess of the Biblical three score years and ten. One of this Continent's leading scientists engaged in research on aging predicted recently that we are on the verge of seeing a considerable increase in the human life span. Those physical occurrences which, up till now, have tended to place the present conventionally accepted limit on that span appear to be increasingly controllable. Those conditions which now tend to reduce even present life expectancy appear to be in certain cases not merely controllable but reversible. The same scientist suggested, with all the authority of his position, that it would not be too long before a significant factor in lengthening the life span would be, not the transplant of human organs, but the implantation of synthetic organs in the human body. One cannot avoid asking the question, how close are we to seeing the man now forced to retire by an arbitrarily dictated age of 65 facing a continued period of healthy existence which may take him easily towards his hundredth birthday?

Associated with this thought is the fact that if the population continues to grow and if applied technology, as has been suggested, shortens the work week without reducing production, there will clearly be more people presenting themselves as candidates for satisfying adult education activities, some of a nature presently only dimly glimpsed. I sometimes wonder to what extent those engaged in planning for the future should continue to be influenced by the suggestion that there will be necessarily a substantial and continuous increase in population. In certain areas, where education is almost non-existent, and life is just above the subsistence level, the present growth may continue. But in more sophisticated communities it would appear that we may be on the way to controlling what is loosely called the population explosion. It may be that the populations of sophisticated and technically expert countries are levelling off.

And After?

This obviously raises the thought, what is the size, and possibly the changed nature of the opportunities facing the adult educator of tomorrow? This enormous question, viewed in a context of enlightening information, urgently demands examination in an atmosphere in which free, and almost wild speculation, would be welcomed. I have attended quite a number of conferences of adult educators looking to the future. In most cases their definition of that period was intended to include approximately ten years. In the event, their predictions were often realized in less than five. When are we going to adopt a 25 or 50-year view? Some agency, and which better than the CAAE, might consider hosting a truly imaginative national conference on this subject. I would hope that on such an occasion adult educators would be joined by scientists and others capable of predicting the nature of the society in which adult education might have to play a role much different from that which it presently discharges.

Such a long range contemplation, at this time, seems extremely important. Tomorrow will be here much faster than we think. I sometimes toy with the gently philosophical thought that there is a marked difference between today's tomorrow and yesterday's tomorrow. Yesterday's tomorrow, today, indeed crept upon us at a petty pace. It gave ample warning of its coming, and regularly revealed to us something of its probable shape and magnitude. Accordingly, we had time to plan with reasonable assurance and some flexibility. Today's tomorrow, by contrast, is on us almost as I speak. We cannot expect to be given ample time in which to consider what we might do next. Our imaginations must take wings and we must speedily project ourselves not five, not even ten years ahead, but far ahead at least up to the end of the present century.

Whatever the shape of the future may be, it seems clear that certain major bodies in adult education will have increasingly to develop a fruitful partnership. School Boards, various Departments of all levels of government, University Extension Divisions, Canada Manpower—when that agency becomes more sure-footed in the field of adult education and training—and industries with in-plant training programs will find the role of each will change. But all must improve their joint planning. Canada Manpower must in particular prepare to render a better account of itself to the Canadian adult educator.

High Schools may, as I have suggested, drop their academically remedial programs. They will, however, continue to plan the best use of their great advantage–usable space well dispersed throughout the community. They will need considerable help in finding and training instructors. Appropriate Provincial Departments will, I believe, continue to relate their technological training to the changing demands for manpower, and in this respect to fit their plans economically together, at their respective levels, with those of School Boards. Universities must, among other adult education activities, step up their support of their business communities as these seek to become more efficient. Probably an even more important task for universities is to attract more people to train as instructors of adults, even if only as a part-time interest. And another task which, in my view of the future, will increasingly confront adult educators at the university level, is to meet the demands of that increasing group of citizens who have passed on the search for "know how" proper to a younger generation, and who wish to move more fruitfully into areas in which they are likely to find the answer to questions appropriate to their age and maturity–"know why". This is clearly a field for university activity.

(2) Organizing for the Mass Media

Notes on a Canadian Mass Media Policy

A. F. KNOWLES (1965)

> *"So we may usefully add a new dramatic factor to public education–an uplifting factor which associates knowledge with pride and private effort with a sense of public purpose. We can widen the horizons of the schoolroom and give to every individual, each in his place and work, a living conception of the community which he has the privilege to serve. We can take his imagination beyond the boundaries of his community to discover the destiny of his country. We can light up his life with a sense of active citizenship. We can give him a sense of greater reality in the present and a vision of the future."*
>
> JOHN GRIERSON

This faintly old-fashioned comment of John Grierson's, made in war time, does not seem now to ring true. While Grierson, as the great pioneer of the documentary film and founder of the National Film Board, strove to achieve national objectives through the power of film, we seem now to be even further from the day when the newer and even more powerful medium of television can "light up (his) life with a sense of active citizenship". And yet there is probably not much point in further hand-wringing about the problems of mass communication of radio, television (and film) in this country. The problems facing us are complicated and potentially destructive. But they are not insuperable. Ways *can* be found of increasing the effectiveness of the agencies in this country responsible for mass communication of ideas. It is especially important, perhaps through new structures or organizations, not as yet fully imagined, that the power of mass communication be harnassed to educational goals and purposes, in a Canada which is a basically under-educated country.

The National Film Board of Canada was devised at the start of World War II, under the leadership of Grierson, as a "cinema of ideas", to interpret Canada to Canadians and others, through the film-medium. Throughout the war and after, a steadily expanding movement reached out to help schools, churches, and all kinds of community groups, with the informational, documentary and discussion film whose purpose was the service of the community. An intensive social reference in NFB films in those years helped to create a close bond between the government film agency and the "voluntary sector" of the community. Significant effects can be attributed to the work of NFB on citizenship understanding, on practices and techniques in audio visual education, and on the level of information available to citizens, even in remote frontier communities. The aesthetic qualities of NFB films often achieved world-wide recognition, even though production values were sometimes emphasized to the point of obscuring the essential community development and educational role of the film as intended by Grierson. Parallel then with the vital force of film for conveying ideas to the Canadian community was radio—then in its pre-transistor stage, clumsy, bulky, and by no means ubiquitous—another medium then used extensively for creating awareness, informing, stimulating, cultivating and educating. In the hands of the CBC, radio was made into a potent instrument for communication across Canada, that contributed manifestly to the public's need for news, music, drama, education, culture and information. In the drama area alone, CBC Radio rated among the world leaders, and in public affairs radio, such well conceived program ideas as "Citizens' Forum" and "Farm Forum" were imitated by many other countries, in their own efforts at growth and development.

With the arrival of television in Canada in 1952 and the fusion of the audio and video characteristics of film and radio, many things changed. Traditional patterns of social activities, attendance at group and organization meetings, religious activity and participation in community life generally changed almost overnight, as the infatuation with television swept the country. Electricity, good roads, and the automobile are now virtually universal in Canada, and, these factors, teamed with television, have been major factors in modifying our basic community and communication patterns.

In 1966, there are some 4 to 5 million television sets in Canada, in over 90 per cent of Canadian homes. But while there is no doubt of TV's popularity, from its inception, television has been growing less significant in program impact. The "Seven Days" flare-up is, however, an indication of the power and potential that is still concealed in the small screen. Now the major problem, given the "mass audience" syndrome that afflicts television in North America, is that of how to provide stimulating cultural, artistic, informational, public affairs, and educational programs for the (assumed) minority of viewers that want them. Similarly, the opportunity at present for access to TV audiences by the National Film Board is severely restricted by the nature of the usual NFB film—typically intelligent, informative, technically well-produced—and therefore not, to any significant extent, acceptable in the "majority programming" philosophy of either CBC or private stations.

Since the growth of electronics, the road and the universal automobile have significantly changed the pattern of informational community adult education activity, it is crucial that television now provide many more opportunities for citizen information, learning and cultural growth. Yet, given TV's pre-occupation, in both the private and CBC sectors, with mass audiences and revenue-producing programs, the opportunities for presentation of important social themes via TV are likely to diminish even more.

Television, radio and film in Canada will continue to be major areas of direct interest and concern to the federal government. The interest of the public in broadcasting must be protected; no Canadians have a divine right to television channels. And as the air waves belong to the Canadian public, with licences to broadcast assigned by an instrument of government, should we continue to permit public resources to be used to modify public taste, or permit the medium to be used in ways which are not in the interest of active citizenship, to use Grierson's phrase? It is clear that the Canadian government has not only the power, but also an obligation, to set different standards of operation in the media of radio and television than are now prevalent.

Perhaps some radical changes in the functioning of these mass media in Canada are needed, with new forms, or new structures designed to carry out specific objectives. Alongside the mass media as they now exist in Canada, let us fashion a new system for enlightened programs, to enable Canadians to benefit from the air waves through educational, informational, and cultural programming, while permitting the continuance of mass entertainment programming. The creation of such new organizations or structures in Canadian broadcasting would have as a major purpose the making of opportunities for learning and cultural growth.

It is clear that the existing private commercial radio and TV stations cannot or will not use the "natural resource" of a radio frequency, loaned to them by the Canadian public, to any significant degree for community enlightenment. The private TV station operators, especially in the smaller centres, have almost eliminated any consideration of local community needs, or responsibilities from their everyday programming policies. Their concerns are limited to: "Will a program draw a large viewing audience?" and "Can we sell it to sponsors?". For example, during one typical week's programming on the Barrie TV station, out of 104 hours of telecasting during the week, there were only 2½ hours of local production logged, this consisting of local news. This commercial station, which is a CBC affiliate, under its agreement must accept certain CBC national public affairs and educational programs, but it by this contract also acquires major revenue producing programs such as "Bonanza" and "The Ed Sullivan Show". While the Barrie TV station, like its counterparts across the country, does telecast public affairs programs, there is clearly little reflection of local or area issues or concerns.

Here is, one might interject, one major omission of the Fowler Commission Report, i.e. its failure to set out specific and definite standards or criteria to be applied in assessing how well TV or radio stations measure up to their programming responsibilities. Now, the ability to operate a station "in the black" is the only criterion that appears to be universally accepted. While it is probably impossible and certainly undesirable to have a set of rigid formulae for station programming in the interests of the community, there are ways in which program offerings can be analyzed and measured. One such approach, applicable to any station, public or private, is that each application for a new licence, or the existing operators, be required to survey the needs of the community to be served, and to establish a range of programs designed to serve these specific public service and other needs. An awareness by station operators of their responsibilities to a *community* of viewers and listeners, requiring a good deal more than the provision of syndicated entertainment programs, would go far to create improved programming.

Implicit in any suggestion of a new relationship between the needs of the citizens of a community and its broadcast programs is a belief that the limited natural resource phenomena of broadcasting frequencies should be used in the interests of the people, notably those who reside in the coverage area. This approach, of public ownership of the air waves, assigned to a station licencee at the pleasure of the public, is by and large not reflected or accepted by the private operators, who regard the radio and TV fields as "industries" or "businesses", to be developed and exploited like any other, for maximum profit. Such attitudes are reinforced by the tradition of radio and TV in this country, where only under the rarest of conditions, has the government regulatory body ever revoked a licence.

Is it not in the public interest that the needs, objectives and concerns of a community or area in which a station is located be served through that station's programming? How can it be decided objectively that a station is (or is not) living up to its community responsibilities under its licence? Here are some criteria which might be applied in making such judgments, set out in the form of questions:

(1) Is there an opportunity for local self-expression (political, educational, cultural, ethnic, etc.)?

(2) Are there adequate opportunities for local talent and resources (music, drama, dance, culture, etc.) to have access to the air waves?

(3) Are there programs of high quality available for children?

(4) Are there sufficient opportunities for discussion of local, regional, national, and international public affairs topics? Particularly, are there opportunities available for adequate discussion of local and regional controversial issues, of significance to the community being served?

(5) Are there opportunities available to serve the widest possible range of educational needs, as indicated by the educational bodies serving the community?

(6) Is there adequate coverage of news, weather, agriculture, business and other reports?

(7) Is there adequate consideration of the interests of minority or ethnic groups in the community, or adequate consideration of the unique and specific character of an area?

These and other criteria should be set down, in legally formulated ways, in the broadcast regulations for acceptable operation of Canadian TV and radio stations. The community being served by the station could also participate, in much greater measure, in decisions about *who* should use (and continue to use) the channels available for broadcasting in a locality. This could be assisted by the holding of public hearings in the communities served by radio and TV licences, at the time of licence renewals or new applications, at which time opportunities would be given for a wide range of local community expressions to be heard. It would also forewarn people planning to go into broadcasting that it is a service which cannot be operated like a department store or manufacturing plant, because of the public service aspects. This is important when one thinks of the present broadcasting stations in Canada, but, I suggest, is a principle that has even greater application to the licensing of educational broadcasting licences, in radio or TV, in the future. It is essential that such licences should be responsive to, and representative of the communities and institutions to be served. Because of the increasingly complex and more sophisticated requirements in education today, no doubt many curriculum objectives will be achieved only through the use of personnel, materials and courses emanating from many outside sources—provincial, national, or foreign. But it is necessary, as Raymond Williams points out, to ensure that communications have sources, that its origins are genuinely multiple. In a democratic country, this can be obtained by an insistence that the controls are not too far removed from the people immediately affected. This should continue to be a basic principle of educational planning for all Canadian communities.

The danger inherent in governmental control of broadcasting was perceived early in Canadian development, and became even more obvious with the availability of nation-wide networking and centralized communication systems. It was in realization of the immense power of broadcasting, as a change-agent in politics particularly, that an independent crown corporation known as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, was set up in 1936. There was, therefore, whatever the weakness of present broadcasting patterns in Canada, an early recognition of the need for service which would be *independent* of governmental control, save for a rather unconfining set of broadcast rules and regulations, which applied to both the CBC and private sectors.

When we come to consider the field of education, it can be seen that it is even more important that educational broadcasting grow in a way that will permit a maximum of flexibility, experiment, and freedom of expression. There is in Canada a genuine ferment in education, even in unexpected places such as provincial departments of education. New educational forms, courses, and approaches are being tried out, in attempts to bring the systems of education in the provinces into line with modern requirements. Most provincial departments of education are already using radio and television to some extent for educational purposes, or intend to do so, as an additional instrument for the improvement of education.

Education, the most jealously guarded right of the provincial governments under the British North America Act, is in part, by definition, the process by which the tradition and history of a people are passed on to succeeding generations. But education is also the process of creating awareness of the need for change in a society. Placing the tools of mass communication in the hands of our educational authorities calls for the exercise of great judgment and experience, for the best use of the new media. Under our system, provincial departments of education, however benign their operation may be, are functioning *branches of government*, subject to many of the same pressures and vicissitudes of politics as other branches.

The specific role of the broadcasting media in improving educational opportunities at the elementary, secondary and higher educational levels is only now being appreciated in Canada. While many educational purposes can be served by closed circuit television (CCTV), there are a great many potential uses requiring the availability of television frequencies. It is our fortune that the relatively scarce TV frequencies across Canada have not yet been assigned completely to commercial or other purposes; it certainly is not due to foresight. In the 1950's, in the U.S.A., several hundred frequencies were reserved for educational purposes, at the request of major educational pressure groups. The more conservative Canadian educational establishment, perhaps unduly conscious of the presence of the CBC, and with a tendency to assign to it an all-encompassing educational function, made no similar representations to the BBG (except in the case of META, Toronto, which successfully petitioned the BBG to reserve Channel 19, in the Toronto area).

Let us contrast the Canadian ETV picture with the developments in the United States. There are now over 125 ETV stations on the air. Of the 95 stations that were on the air at the end of 1964, 31 were licensed to universities, 13 to ETV commissions.

It is, incidentally, not enough to reserve channels for education or public service; we have a relatively small population in Canada and financial resources are often slimmest where the educational need is greatest. Even in the U.S.A., most of the ETV stations have received large Ford Foundation or other private grants, and are now eligible for massive public funds under federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs, with the state department of education participation.

Perhaps there is an answer to the federal-provincial "hang-up" respecting education and the rights of the provinces, as it affects educational television, arising out of the federal-provincial experience in manpower training and development acts. Why not create a national body, which would operate as a federal crown corporation, whose responsibility would be to staff, and build the facilities for educational broadcasting? Such transmitting facilities (including antenna, transmitter, and studios) could be made available on an acceptable basis to departments of education, universities, school boards, community colleges, etc., in all of the major centres of Canada at first, but gradually covering the whole country. As these stations grew across Canada, some (if not all) CBC educational programming would shift over into the ETV stations, and in return for the increased revenue from more revenue-producing, saleable time, the private stations could pay a tax based on their gross revenue, which would help offset some of the capital and staffing costs of the stations. The programming policies of these stations would be jointly determined by the user institutions, which in turn would be responsible to their constituency or community. By this approach, we can skirt the dangerous question of "who shall own broadcasting licences?" and yet we shall have provided for the educational needs of all Canadians.

It could be an important function of these stations to have made available to them, for telecast at evening and other suitable viewing hours, the total library of film of the National Film Board, which would then no longer be restricted to indifferent or rare telecast time on CBC and private stations. It should also be possible to make advantageous arrangements for the replay of outstanding CBC and other programs, at times calculated to reach school or other special audiences.

(With the growth of awareness of educational broadcasting and the potential of radio and TV to assist education in Canada, it is time that a "national council", composed of university people, department of education representatives, adult education, school board and other interests, be set up, with the task of recommending a national policy for educational broadcasting in Canada.)

There is another aspect of the mass communication function in Canada, not unrelated to educational and informational roles. Any public body can become ingrown or even corrupt; the Canadian public is not without reason concerned about the character of Parliament itself. The need for open public discussion and criticism of Parliament and all of its activities is absolute. It would therefore be a wise use of public monies to make available via radio throughout Canada, in both French and English, the *entire* proceedings of the House of Commons, while the House is in session. Radio frequencies (probably FM) can be applied to this function, so that at any desired time, Canadians everywhere can tune in to Parliament. The fact that by this method *all* speeches would be heard would eliminate much of the conflict that would be generated if, as Mr. Diefenbaker and others have suggested, only a portion—perhaps one-half-hour daily—were to be made available on TV. Televising the total proceedings in the House would at this time be prohibitively expensive. But radio could be used, at relatively little expense, on a nation-wide basis. Such radio stations could also provide additional dividends by making it possible as well to broadcast provincial parliamentary debates, U.N. Assembly and other special debates, or even the proceedings of municipal councils. It is no longer possible to assemble all of the people of a city under one roof, but in our "global village", the wise use of a radio can help the citizen or the student to learn more about the politics of his world, and may help to restore to people some of the decision-making process lost in the creation of technological society.

Mass communication, if used wisely, can make a substantial contribution to Canadian economic, social, and educational development. Teamed with formal and informal education, television particularly has a powerful ability to carry new ideas and skills, swifter than any other known technique, extending and enriching the educational process. The conditions for more effective use of mass communication in the national development of Canada exist. So let us consider what might be done about the present mass media situation in this country.

A. There is a need for better coordination of the functions, objectives, activities, and operations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board of Canada, the private radio and television stations, and educational television development.

B. The Canadian government should examine the use it is presently making of mass media (particularly film and television) in carrying out informational, training, and other objectives of its Departments, and should consider in what ways the existing agencies can cope with the new conditions and new problems that exist for communication in Canada.

C. The Canadian government should plan a balanced and co-ordinated growth of the mass communication media, in the knowledge that mass communication processes interact with other aspects of social change and economic growth.

D. Canada should invest more heavily in a well-planned program of mass communication use and development on a nation-wide basis, working in close cooperation, as regards educational needs, with the provinces. Such a program might involve the establishment of a "federal ETV or broadcasting authority", which would be financed by the federal government, but made available to the provinces, particularly to departments of education, universities, and school boards.

E. The Canadian government should work towards establishing effective relationships between the branches of federal government interested in, or affected by, mass communication development, and the provincial and other bodies responsible for education and other related developments.

F. The Canadian government should support the development of local and provincial media of communication (for public service, educational and cultural purposes) such as local radio or ETV stations.

G. The Canadian government, with the cooperation of provincial governments, should make provision under its various manpower development acts, etc., for adequate training programs for personnel who wish to be involved in the mass communications field. This will be of particular benefit to those provinces lacking trained personnel and the training resources of their own.

H. Canada should share its experiences in using the mass media for educational, cultural and public service purposes more widely with other countries, in the cause of international economic development and social change. Special projects, such as training schools for personnel from Canada and abroad (from developing countries) should be considered.

Conclusion:

We see in Canada some imperfect but operable public authorities (CBC, NFB) being challenged powerfully by the new requirements of a changing Canadian society. There might well, however, be created, in broadcasting and television, one or more public authorities or Crown operations, owning the technical means of distribution of programs, but with the provision and responsibility of actual programs in the hands of "producers". Such "producers" might well be provincial departments of education, school boards, universities, or ETV associations, such as the Metropolitan Educational Television Association of Toronto. But it is obvious that only a few institutions, have as yet any experience in the broad range of educational TV production. It might indeed be a matter of public policy to encourage the formation of organizations to which the technical means of distribution would be made available by the public authority. The core of such organizations would be experienced educational and broadcasting personnel, who would work closely with departments of education, university and school board personnel. By this approach, the dangers of a federal monopoly and of a surrender to the narrow concerns of provincial governments could be avoided.

In short, the mass media communication process in Canada must be viewed not as a series of isolated relationships, but as an integral part of the social system of this country. It must be studied within its full social context, and the "instruments" (CBC, NFB, private radio and TV, educational TV, etc.) must be seen as functioning with specific roles within that social context.

(3) Principles for Group Organization

Aspects of Leadership and Participation

HEDLEY DIMOCK (1969)

Groups are a powerful force in developing an individual's social skill and determining his success and happiness in life. Through group experiences, an individual may meet many of his psychological needs, develop behavior skills which contribute to this good mental health, learn social skills including those of democratic decision making, and understand the norms and customs of his society. Through group membership some modification or development of his behavior and attitudes will take place. As an individual tries out various forms of behavior in his group he is able to work out an accurate and realistic concept of himself and develop the flexible behavior that will result in a well adjusted person who is successful in his relations with others.

Leadership

One of the most prominent interests in any group is its leadership—who is providing it and how. In groups with an agency affiliation there are two areas of leadership to look at: leadership within the group and leadership provided by the worker. In order to understand the leadership arising from the members themselves we must get a clearer picture of what we mean by leadership. Nearly everyone has ideas about leadership and the concepts held by any group of leaders are likely widely divergent.

It is a popular belief that in every group there is a leader and that this person is the leader because of personality traits or leadership qualities. This belief is often called the great man theory of leadership as those who believe this feel that there are certain men who are endowed with outstanding characteristics who will become great leaders. History is often interpreted as revolving around the influences of these men and is believed to be best understood by studying these great men. It is thought that these men are born with the qualities for great leadership and that they would be leaders regardless of the country or era in which they lived.

The early studies of leadership, therefore, attempted to identify the characteristics of leaders. If these characteristics could be identified then real leaders could be singled out and put to work improving the productivity of groups. The studies of the personality of leaders have been disappointing as they have failed to find any consistent pattern which distinguishes leaders from non-leaders. This research led to the conclusion that leaders do not have particular personalities or traits, identifiable at this time, that separate them from other people. The great man theory of leadership has been abandoned because of a lack of scientific support. The theory most widely accepted by social scientists sees leadership as a function of the situation as it interacts with the personalities of the members, and their needs or tasks. Leaders have certain personality traits that likely increase the probability of their taking on leadership functions, but their success as a leader is largely dependent upon the situation.

During the second world war the OSS ran an extensive program to help them locate potential undercover agents for espionage work and since the war the U.S. Navy has carried out numerous leadership studies at Ohio State University and elsewhere. These studies have supported the conclusion that people who are leaders in one situation may not be leaders in another. Although there are certain characteristics and behavior patterns that enable a person to take leadership more successfully, these in themselves are no guarantee of leadership. Those who give leadership in one situation may or may not give leadership in another situation but, in any case, their leadership potential is more related to their social experiences than to the characteristics with which they were born.

Further studies of those who give leadership in different situations have shown that in some cases several people may be providing leadership almost simultaneously. This has led to the conclusion that leadership is probably best thought of as a group quality, where there are many functions to be carried out in the group and many members contributing to these functions. The concept of *shared leadership* focuses the leader's attention on group functions rather than on the behavior of an individual or central person. This new view of shared or participative leadership highlights the role flexibility of members, as groups should be flexible in assigning leadership functions to different members as conditions change in order to utilize all the skills within the group.

Leadership is best defined as doing something that helps solve a problem or accomplish an objective. A group's objective may be the achievement of some specific goal (task) or maintaining and developing itself as a group (group building). Members perform leadership functions by helping the group in one or both of these two areas, however, some individuals who do not contribute task or group building functions may also influence the behavior of the group. If such an individual is well accepted by the group or the group is in an excited state his behavior may be contagious. The situation in which a group finds itself is an important determinant of what leadership acts will be needed at any given time and who among the members will perform them.

Any member who helps the group achieve its goals or influences the behavior of the group is a "leader". Most members are leaders of the group at one time or another, hence, we must study a corps of leaders and differentiate among members according to the amount of leadership they contribute to the group, and not by calling one person a leader and the rest followers. In some groups the organization and structure may be such that members expect one person to give leadership and he may, therefore, stand head and shoulders above the others as leaders. For our purposes we should think of leaders as those members who in a specific group situation provide a large share of the leadership acts.

It is common for organization groups to elect officers who are expected to give leadership to the group. Elected or appointed officers may or may not provide the leadership functions which help a group work towards its objectives. These officers have specific group functions and how well they perform them and how much power their position offers determine the extent to which they will be leaders.

Members are not born with leadership skills but rather learn them in group situations. An important contribution of any organization group can be the training of members in leadership skills. There is considerable research which supports the position that members can be trained to increase their repertoire of task and group building skills and function more effectively in problem solving procedures. The concept of shared, situational leadership wholeheartedly supports the value of training members in group leadership skills.

Leadership, like other aspects of behavior, is best thought of as a continuum with a person displaying it in varying degrees rather than having it completely ("he is a leader") or not at all. It is possible in a mature group for leadership to be provided by many members of a group irrespective of whether they are officers or occupy a high status position in the group. Generally, we should not talk of "the leader" of the group but rather of "those who most frequently give leadership".

Some characteristics of leaders

Every member of a group is more or less a leader in that he affects the behavior of the group; but some individuals tend to lead more frequently than others. Research has turned up some characteristics which may make certain individuals especially prone to giving leadership to a group.

Fielder , in an extensive study of high school basketball teams and several other adult groups found that the "leaders" of effective groups had a certain social distance from their followers. Other studies focus on this point and suggest that members who are well accepted by the group but are slightly aloof in that they don't act like "one of the boys" are the most likely to perform leadership acts. It is not that members will not respect a person with whom they are too familiar, but rather that a "leader" who is too close to his followers finds it hard to reach decisions without being influenced by his feelings.

People most effective in interpersonal relations are very able to differentiate among the members of a group along a variety of personality dimensions. The best basketball captain can describe a comprehensive set of weaknesses and strengths for each team player and does not tend to see several players as "about the same". The most effective supervisors can describe each employee as a unique individual—that is each person is seen quite differently from the others. When leaders are unable to differentiate among their group members on the basis of their personality and skills the full resources of the group are unlikely to be utilized.

Acceptance or popularity in a group seems to be a prerequisite to the successful completion of leadership acts. Sociometric methods for determining acceptance have been rather accurate in predicting degree of leadership. A high sociometric position contributes to leadership by providing individuals with a receptive audience, a channel for influence and communication, and some prestige or power in the eyes of others. Social-economic status is an important factor affecting acceptance in many groups.

In the Ohio State studies of leadership, four factors appeared to effectively describe leader behavior: consideration; initiation of structure; production emphasis; and sensitivity (social awareness). Showing consideration for other group members accounted for fifty per cent of the leadership dimensions. People who identify and respond to the emotional needs of members and who are perceived by other members as being active in meeting these emotional needs are most likely to provide group leadership. Members who are above average in leadership show more empathy or understanding of others and are also more accurate in ability to judge other members' feelings and opinions on issues relevant to the group.

Research also indicates that the person who does most of the talking is most likely to influence the group and become accepted as a leader providing he doesn't talk so much that he antagonizes the other group members. It is likely that those who emerge as leaders are more vocal and dominant, and push the group toward its goals. They may assume these roles because they are more highly motivated to the group's tasks than other members or they may have greater needs to control the group and exercise power. Certainly, any member who can communicate more frequently or in any way controls communication in the group (such as the discussion chairman) is more likely to be a "leader" than one who does not.

Leadership and the group

If leadership is best thought of as a group quality or set of functions which the group must perform to operate as a group, then the interrelations among members must be studied to understand why certain members more frequently perform these functions. Or, to put it differently, leadership and the relation of the "leader" to his "followers" cannot be looked at independently. The "leader" derives his position from his followers who accept that he is able to help them achieve their goals and maintain themselves as a group. The more a person helps other members achieve their goals the more readily will these members accept his suggestions and look to him for further suggestions or leadership acts. Knickerbocker states this point rather clearly: "The leader may 'emerge' as a means to the achievement of objectives desired by a group. He may be selected, elected or spontaneously accepted by the group because he possesses or controls means (skill, knowledge, money, associations, property, etc.) which the group desires to utilize to gain their objectives—to obtain need satisfaction." On the other hand, a leader may be appointed by someone outside the group but "there will be no relationship with the group—no followers—except in terms of the leader's control of means for the satisfaction of the needs of the followers. Either the leader's objectives must also be those of the group (and he himself be seen by the group as a means to their attainment) or else accepting the leader's direction must be seen by the group members as the best available means to prevent reduced need satisfaction."

Homans, summarizing the work of several studies, says that the leader must personify the standards or values of his group and his behavior, more than that of any other member, is controlled by these standards. "The closer an individual comes to realizing in all activities the norms of the group as a whole the higher will be the social rank of the individual." The higher the social rank the more influence an individual will have on the group. Homans also points out, however, that a certain individual may have high status because he provides rare and valuable services and as long as he does that, the other members may allow him some leeway in lesser matters.

Generally, it appears that to gain status and acceptance in a group an individual must conform to the standards of the group as he first secures membership. Once he has shown that he accepts the group norms and can make contributions to the group's achievement of goals within these norms, his status or position is raised. After he has established this high position he is able to deviate from the standards and behave in a less conforming or more individual way.

The possibility of a person influencing a group without being influenced by it or of directing it towards an end not accepted by the members does not exist. "Whether he likes it or not, the leader is always a part of the group, and he can never, except by coercion . . . get the group to accept his ends until he has shown, by his actions, that he has accepted its own."

As a structure emerges in each new group the members find or are assigned their relative positions in that structure depending on the relation of their abilities to the group's needs and the interaction patterns among the members. Members who regularly perform useful functions are accorded status or prestige by the others and are expected to continue those functions. Over a period of time each member's position in the group is determined by his standing in relation to the other members in the special qualities required by the group to accomplish its tasks and the extent to which the other members perceive him as having these qualities. To stand high in the hierarchy of leadership a member must have both required skills or resources and acceptance by the group. Whenever members feel accepted by the group they develop greater feelings of responsibility to the group and an increased readiness to perform group functions.

Distribution of leadership functions

The extent to which leadership functions in a group are shared, and members participate in making decisions are two vital dimensions in any group and have a powerful effect on all aspects of the group's life. In some groups leadership functions are widely distributed with all members taking as much responsibility for decisions as conditions will allow. In groups at the opposite end of the continuum, most functions are performed by one member who limits or prohibits others from taking any responsibility. The former is referred to as shared or participative leadership, which is democratic in principle, while the latter is called central or dominant leadership, which is basically autocratic. Countless research studies have measured the difference in effect on group behavior of the degree of dominance of the leader. These studies carried out in children's groups, in classrooms, in business and industry, in the armed forces, and in family groups all support the conclusion that shared, group centered leadership is more likely in the long run to achieve the objectives desired in the different situations than dominant or authoritarian leadership.

These general findings have been substantiated in business and industry. Supervisors who operate in a participative way, sharing responsibility and decision making with their subordinates, and supporting workers with individual interests are most likely to have high production, workers who take responsibility even when they are not present, and good morale in their groups (lowest absenteeism and turnover). Production drops and dissatisfaction with the job increases as the supervisor tries to dominate his men and make all the decisions for them.

A most interesting study in the military setting compared arbitrary officers with persuasive officers and found a high level of tension and anxiety among the soldiers with arbitrary officers. The tension brought out a great deal of non-functional behavior with more soldiers going on drinking sprees, reporting for sick call and going AWOL.

The leadership style of parents in the home has been found to be a definite influence on children's behaviour and development. Parents whose behavior is best described as child-centered tend to have children who are more stable emotionally, more creative and better adjusted socially than do authoritarian parents. Peck and Havighurst conclude that "an autocratic home atmosphere prevents the development of anything better than rigid conformity . . . " "Lack of discipline produces poor character while severe, autocratic discipline, consistently applied, produces children who 'toe the mark' but in a blind unthinking way. They usually end up feeling more hostile than friendly toward people in general."

Participative leadership

The above research leads to a position that the same group of people will behave in different ways when the type of group leadership is changed. The style of leadership in a group strongly influences the group's production and growth as a group. It is, however, not a case of the participative leadership being most satisfactory but rather that it depends on the nature of the situation. Dominating leadership is effective in reaching high production goals in certain situations and is required in emergency situations and those with extremely difficult tasks. It is also expected when the task is straightforward and the leader is given responsibility for action (such as an airline pilot). Participative leadership is most satisfactory when personal growth is a goal and effectiveness depends on people taking initiative and responsibility for their actions. Participative leadership shares decision making and other responsibilities and enables a group to make full use of all its members potentials. The release of this potential usually enables participative groups to solve problems more creatively and effectively.

Ten years ago I embarked on a research program to study leadership selection and training using these assumptions about participative leadership as a basis. My goal was to find a way to assess people's leadership style on a dominant-participative continuum, see if highly participative leaders would do better on-the-job, and see if leadership style could be modified through training and supervisory programs.

Effect of participation on learning

The degree of participation in a learning program is a major factor in attitude and behavior change. By participation I mean the extent to which the learners had a say in some of the decisions which affected them. In practice this was assessed as the importance placed on their ideas and needs and the extent to which their experiences were used as the basis for learning.

Effecting change through group participation

One of the principal advantages of participative leadership is the maximum initiative and responsibility it encourages among members. This takes us back to our starting point of the shared nature of leadership functions in a permissive climate. The high participation and sharing of responsibility among members is probably the most important element in influencing changes of attitudes and behavior through group methods. If improvement of behavior and adjustment is the goal of a program it is most likely to be achieved in participative settings where members take an active role in all aspects of group life.

My studies and those of a number of others have demonstrated that group discussion encouraging the participation of all members is a very effective method of bringing about modification or change of individual behavior. The more members participate, the more likely they are to change their opinions. The logic behind these findings is that the norms of the individual are often tied up with the norms of the group. Group standards are formed through the interaction of members and can be changed in the same way. As the group norm is the property of the group as a whole it can best be changed by working with the group as a whole through group procedures which encourage interaction. A changed group norm usually results in changed behaviors of members.

Let's now look at some examples of experimental studies of effecting change through group participation. Lewin reviews an industrial setting where a number of women operated sewing machines. The women worked on a group incentive basis—the higher the total group production the more each individual was paid. In the experiment a group of workers were brought together and asked if they would like to set a production goal for themselves. The women said they would. Up to this time, the production of the group averaged 74 units. After discussing what goal they would like to set the women unanimously agreed on a goal of 84 units—an increase of ten units. Within five days this goal was exceeded. The women then held another meeting and after some discussion agreed to set a more appropriate goal of 95 units. This goal was not achieved and after a few days, when another meeting was held, the women decided to set a relatively permanent production goal of 90 units.

During the next six months the group averaged 88 units. No further meetings were held during this time and as the group returned to the routine of the other production groups it can be concluded that the change effected was a lasting one.

The essential elements of this study—involving those people affected by a decision in the process of making that decision—have been repeated in a wide variety of settings with similar results. It has been found that by and large people want to do a good job and if they are given a chance plus some support, will work pretty hard at doing it. Many of the studies show that workers will set higher goals for themselves than their supervisors did and in business many money saving suggestions have come out of worker discussions.

Studies have been made in hospitals where mothers having their first babies were instructed in good nutrition practices. Lecture methods by hospital staff were compared with group discussion and decision procedures with the latter proving to be about twice as effective. And in the famous pajama study (popularized in "The Pajama Game", on the stage and on film—lately on late show T.V.) group methods involving workers in making changes in production were extremely successful. Not only did production exceed management's expectation but the usual high rate of employee turnover was reduced to zero.

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(4) Organizing for Self-Directed Learning

ALLEN TOUGH (1969)

> *The work of Dr. Tough respecting self-directed learning has been cited by the Faure Commission and in many publications. He and his students have interviewed hundreds of self-directed learners in several countries and have identified many factors affecting independent learning. Typically his work began with self observation and analysis.*

In January 1963, I received an assignment that initiated a line of inquiry that I am still continuing.

The assignment was received in a graduate course taught by Cyril O. Houle at the University of Chicago. He had presented to his class the list of the fundamental steps of program development plus his scheme for classifying the situations in which programs are planned. The assignment was to analyze and describe the way in which the steps had occurred in the development of one particular program.

While considering possible topics for this assignment for the first time I realized that an analysis of the program of self-education that I had just completed might be very fruitful. On the previous evening I had written the French examination required for the Ph.D. at the University of Chicago; I had studied French intensively during the preceding five weeks. During this program of self-education I apparently *had* applied most of the fundamental steps of program development although not aware that I was doing so.

Selecting a situation in which an individual developed a definite program of education for himself (situation #1 in Houle's classification of program development situations) seemed potentially fruitful for at least two reasons. First, a very large amount of learning during adulthood is planned and conducted by the individual learner himself. Second, there seemed to be a great need for increased study and understanding of the ways in which an adult can more effectively plan and carry through an educational program for himself.

A few hours after completing an intensive five-week program of self-education, then, I began to analyze that program in terms of the fundamental steps of program planning. I was interested in discovering the extent to which, and the ways in which, I had naturally followed these steps without making a conscious effort to do so.

Dr. Tough summarizes the results of his first inquiry.

Implications

What teaching tasks are performed by a person who decides to teach himself?

What difficulties does he have? Who assists him, and how much?

To attempt to answer these questions, the writer interviewed forty adults who had spent at least eight hours teaching themselves something during the preceding year. All forty subjects were college graduates living in one metropolitan area; they included a variety of occupations and a wide range of ages. No attempt was made to select subjects who had actually taught themselves nor to select carefully a representative sample from some clearly defined population. Using questionnaires and an interview schedule that had been developed and tested during several initial interviews, the interviewer spent about two hours with each subject.

The framework for investigating self-teaching consisted of twelve major teaching tasks that it was hypothesized might be performed during self-teaching. It was assumed that a self-teacher performs for himself some of the tasks commonly performed by a professional classroom teacher.

Although these interviews provided a large amount of detailed information regarding the attempts of forty adults to act as their own teachers, three limitations should be noted. First, the forty interviewees were not carefully selected to be representative of some clearly defined population. Second, all data collected were limited to what each subject could recall and to what he was willing to reveal. Third, the data were limited to the twelve teaching tasks used during the interviews: somewhat different results would have been obtained if some of the twelve tasks had been subdivided and if some additional tasks had been included.

Conclusions

The data clearly support a major hypothesis in the study; namely, that self-teachers can and do perform several of the tasks of a professional teacher. Each subject performed at least six major teaching tasks; the median was nine.

Each of the twelve tasks included in the study was relevant and important during at least some self-teaching projects. For example, each task was performed in a fairly large number of the projects; the least common task (dealing with lack of desire) was performed by seventeen of the forty subjects. Each task, in at least a few projects, was performed very frequently, required much time, caused much difficulty and concern, and required a great deal of assistance from several individuals.

The data also indicate that most of the self-teachers performed several of the teaching tasks frequently and spent much time doing so. Most self-teachers experienced some difficulty or concern during their project; only six subjects found that none of the tasks was troublesome. The typical self-teacher experienced difficulty or concern with three of the nine tasks that he performed. He obtained assistance from other people with six or seven of his tasks, and performed only two or three without help. The amount of assistance received by the self-teachers was very great. Nonetheless, with at least one or two tasks most subjects would have liked even more assistance than they actually had obtained.

The assistance was provided by a surprisingly large number of people. Every subject obtained assistance from at least four individuals; one subject used thirty-one assistants and another used twenty-eight. The mean number of assistants was 10.6 and the median 9.5; that is, the typical self-teacher obtained assistance from about ten individuals. For several of the various tasks, too, the number of assistants was very large. The subjects who obtained assistance with estimating level of knowledge and skill, for example, used a total of 203 assistants; the mean number used by each subject was 7.2.

If judged by the number of tasks with which they helped, the assistants were generally helpful. The self-teachers obtained assistance from each assistant with a mean of 3.1 tasks.

The individuals who assisted the self-teachers were classified into seven types. All the subjects used at least two different types of assistants, and most used three or four types. Almost all the subjects used at least one intimate (member of immediate family or very close friend) and one acquaintance (friend, relative, or colleague who is not an expert). Indeed, the forty subjects obtained assistance from a total of 156 acquaintances and 87 intimates. Smaller proportions of the assistants were subject matter experts approached on a personal basis (12 per cent) and those approached on a business or professional basis (17 per cent). Sales people, fellow learners, and librarians were less numerous. The relative proportions of the seven types of assistants varied from one task to another; that is, with certain tasks there was a greater tendency to obtain assistance from certain types of individuals than with other tasks.

The Typical Self-teacher

The following description of a hypothetical but representative self-teacher summarizes the behavior of adults while teaching themselves.

Before beginning his project in earnest, the typical self-teacher spent about an hour deciding just what knowledge and skill he wanted to learn. Although he was interested in the subject matter, he did not seriously consider learning it until some specific impetus occurred. While choosing his goal, he received advice, encouragement, and other assistance from six individuals, mostly family, friends, and colleagues.

Once he had chosen his goal, he very frequently considered which activities would be effective for learning that subject matter. In particular, he decided which books and articles to read, which individuals to ask for information and advice, and what to observe and practise. Altogether he spent about five hours making such decisions, and obtained assistance from two subject matter experts and three other persons.

Once he had decided whom and what resources he wanted to use, the subject spent more than five hours obtaining the printed materials and walking or traveling to see the assistants. He was assisted a great deal in obtaining these resources although only four individuals provided the assistance.

In order to fit his self-teaching project into his busy life, the self-teacher had to decide just when to learn. Although these decisions about time were made throughout the project, he spent only about forty minutes making them.

Continuously throughout the learning he attempted to estimate his level of knowledge and skill. In particular, he looked back in order to see how far he had progressed, he estimated his current level, and he looked ahead in order to note the gap between his current level and the desired level. Seven people assisted him with these estimates; some of them served as models for comparison and a few made direct evaluative comments.

About ten times he found that he was unable to grasp some part of the knowledge and skill when he first encountered it. He spent more time dealing with these difficult parts than he spent performing most other tasks, and experienced more difficulty and concern than with other tasks. He obtained assistance from three relatives and friends, two experts (one of whom was approached on a personal basis and one on a businesslike basis), and one sales person.

In addition to performing the six teaching tasks already discussed, the typical self-teacher performed four of the following tasks: (a) occasionally dealt with doubts about success; (2) decided what place would be suitable for his learning; (3) dealt with his dislike of the activities that were necessary for learning; (4) spent almost an hour deciding whether to continue or stop learning after reaching a certain goal; (5) considered how much money to spend for reading materials and equipment; and (6) dealt with his lack of desire for achieving the goal.

Discussion and Implications

This study has taken a small, early step toward an understanding of self-teaching. It has produced some fairly definite findings regarding the actions and difficulties of forty adult self-teachers, and regarding the assistance they obtained and the individuals who helped them. In particular, the study has demonstrated that the tasks and functions of professional educators are also performed by adults who teach themselves. The study shows not only that the tasks or steps described by Houle and others are relevant to self-teaching, but also that laymen can perceive the relevance of these steps.

It is surprising that all but two of the forty-four adults with whom an interview was started had conducted at least one self-teaching project lasting at least eight hours during the preceding year. Apart from checking that each subject was a college graduate, no attempt was made to select subjects who had actually taught themselves. It seems possible, therefore, that self-teaching among college graduates is far more common than most adult educators realize. It also seemed evident during the interviews that many self-teaching projects are very important in the life of the adult, arouse great enthusiasm, and consume a large amount of his time.

Although the *effectiveness* of self-teaching was not studied, it became evident during the interviews that many adults who decide to teach themselves some large and difficult body of knowledge and skills do so quite successfully. This finding does not seem to agree with the following statement in a book prepared by the Commission of Professors of Adult Education:

> *Self-education is possible when an individual has sufficient insight and skill to define objectives clearly, to select and arrange a sequence of developmental tasks for himself, and to manage and effectively direct his own progress with objectivity. . . .*
>
> *Such sophistication is not ordinarily characteristic of individuals in need of learning; consequently the educational setting constructed by an external agent to make systematic achievement possible is still required in most cases in order for an individual to accomplish the needed learning.*

The experience of the forty interviewees in the present study suggests that many adults are, in fact, able to teach themselves effectively and do not require an agent to plan and arrange things for them.

If one believes that most college graduates can and do teach themselves successfully, the following question raised during this study becomes even more puzzling: why did so many of the subjects say that the quality and amount of their learning were low, and that their procedures for learning differed from the usual or ideal pattern? Perhaps schools and colleges encourage their graduates to believe that only learning conducted in an educational institution is important, legitimate, and effective.

The self-teachers received an astonishing amount of assistance, and they obtained it from an equally astonishing number of individuals. Certainly it is erroneous to think of the self-teacher as a person who plans and manages his self-teaching alone and without human assistance. The large amount of assistance probably reflects the difficulty of planning and carrying through a major intellectual effort in an unfamiliar area of subject matter. Functioning as a teacher and a learner simultaneously is clearly not easy. Even when enrolled in a course or taking private lessons, however, adults (and perhaps adolescents and college students) may obtain more assistance from a greater variety of individuals than previously suspected.

Some of a self-teacher's assistance may come from subject matter experts, amateur instructors, or professional educators. During the forty interviews it became increasingly evident that, in the life of an individual adult, self-teaching and organized education are intertwined. Almost one-quarter of the subjects engaged in some educational activities organized by another person as *part* of their self-teaching project. In the minds of these nine subjects there was not a sharp distinction between the learning in a group (or from an instructor) and the rest of their learning. Consequently, it does not make much sense to argue about whether adult educators *can* assist self-teachers or to declare that "for all practical purposes, self-education is beyond the range of responsibility of adult education, since it is an individual activity and affords no opportunity for an adult educator to exert influence on the learning process." In fact, some adults already incorporate into their self-teaching a certain amount of instruction by others.

The distinction between self-teaching and institutional education will blur even more as an increasing number of institutions attempt to increase the extent to which their students mix self-teaching with organized group instruction. Even in other institutions, however, many students enrolled in a course probably perform some of the tasks of self-teachers, experience similar difficulties, and obtain assistance from a similar variety of individuals. In actual practice it is often difficult to detect much difference between instruction by professional educators and assistance from "amateur" subject matter experts. What are the differences, for example, between being taught to swim by a professional swimming teacher and learning from a friend who is an expert swimmer?

The findings of the present study have several implications for secondary schools and colleges interested in increasing their students' desire for, and competence in, self-teaching throughout the rest of their lifetime. For example, teachers and professors should emphasize that self-teaching is an effective way to learn; their influence might eventually reduce the number of adults who consider the quality and procedures of their self-teaching somehow inferior to their undergraduate learning. In addition, students should be trained in self-teaching in order to become *competent* self-teachers. Probably a person who has been trained to identify the tasks and difficulties that confront a self-teacher will teach himself more effectively. He also may benefit from practice in performing each task for himself. Knowledge of the types of individuals who are especially helpful with each task plus practice in obtaining assistance from various individuals may also lead to success. Practice in learning individually from television, tape recorders, record players, and programmed materials may widen the scope of methods used by self-teachers; very few subjects in the present study used one of these methods. Training in choosing appropriate goals might reduce not only the many difficulties that surround this task, but also the number of projects that fail or are prematurely stopped.

The findings also have several implications for educational institutions interested in assisting students and adults who are already engaged in self-teaching. Because this study has demonstrated that self-teachers obtain a variety of assistance from several individuals, there seems to be little doubt that educators should not expect a person engaged in an independent study program, doctoral research, or other self-teaching project to work alone without assistance from the institutional staff. Instead, the institution should facilitate such self-teaching by making arrangements for him to obtain assistance with any self-teaching task from certain staff members or non-human resources. An educational counselor might be available to help him select his goals and plan his strategy, a subject matter expert to recommend sources of information and to help with difficult parts, and a librarian to help him select and find particular materials. Such assistants might be trained to identify, sympathize with, and assist with the various tasks of a self-teacher. Librarians in particular might benefit from such training; in the present study only seven subjects used a librarian but at least seven others probably could have progressed much more effectively if they had approached a helpful, competent librarian. In addition, the institution might provide printed materials such as workbooks and programmed materials, audiovisual materials such as films and records, and audiovisual equipment that are especially suitable for individual study.

Because this study was one of the first to investigate the tasks and difficulties of people who teach themselves, one of its purposes was to stimulate and aid further research. The study has demonstrated that the major teaching tasks can serve as an effective framework for gaining insight into the activities, problems, and feelings of adult self-teachers. This framework might also be used to investigate independent study programs in colleges or the inquiry process among children. The tasks might also be useful for interpreting research into permissive, democratic, and student-centered teaching methods—methods that seem to combine self-teaching with professional instruction. Much of the writing about such methods sounds vague and confused because it fails to specify the various tasks and functions involved. One can interpret such writing more accurately by considering the extent to which each task was the responsibility of the learners or performed by the teacher.

Further Research

As the study progressed it became evident that, although the question of *how* adults go about teaching themselves something is very important, future research should also investigate *why, what*, and *how much* they teach themselves. What factors lie behind an adult's decision to learn something, and to do so himself instead of enrolling in a course? In certain populations, what sorts of knowledge and skill are most commonly self-taught? In a given year, what proportions of an adult's increase in knowledge and skill are due to professional instruction, to self-teaching, and to unintentional learning?

One surprising observation during the forty interviews was the great disparity between what an adult had actually learned and his perception of that learning. Why did so many of the interviewees grossly underestimate the amount they had learned during recent months and the scope and quality of their self-teaching project? Why did so many adults believe that their style of learning differed from that of everyone else? In what ways do these feelings influence an adult's participation in adult education? One also wonders how effectively the typical adult teaches himself and what factors are related to failure and premature quitting. Perhaps lack of success could frequently be traced to performing certain tasks inefficiently or without sufficient assistance.

Further research also might attempt to answer more precisely or comprehensively certain questions investigated in the present study. For example, such research might obtain more accurate estimates of the total amount of time spent at each self-teaching project plus more detailed descriptions of the difficulties, concerns, and their causes.

Perhaps the ultimate question to be tackled by future research into self-teaching is this: how can professional educators improve the quality and scope of the subject matter and the effectiveness of the methodology in self-teaching? In order to learn how to encourage, train, and assist self-teachers, educators first should study the similarities between self-teaching and the behavior of students enrolled in an educational institution. Educators also should study the ways in which adult self-teaching and participation in adult education programs are intertwined. Then various experimental programs could determine the especially effective ways of training and assisting self-teachers. For example, certain individuals might be told about the tasks, difficulties, and types of assistants in self-teaching and then might be given supervised practice in performing each task to see whether their self-teaching competence would increase. In the present study the forty subjects used no tape recordings, radios, and filmstrips, and only two television sets, one record player, and one motion picture; would practice in the individual use of a variety of methods alter this tendency? Frequent advice might be given by subject matter experts, librarians, and other individuals to determine the ways in which such assistance can facilitate self-teaching. Finally, educators might experiment with various sorts of printed materials and special facilities such as individual motion picture viewers to see whether these, too, can be made especially helpful for the self-teacher. By evaluating the effectiveness of such experimental programs, professional educators will learn how to stimulate, prepare, and assist people who continue learning throughout their adult years.

(5) Organizing for Community Development

Community Development in Canada and Abroad

WILLIAM B. BAKER (1962)

Introduction

At the beginning of the 1950s, there were only seven countries which had full-fledged community development programs on a national scale. By the end of the decade, there were more than thirty such countries; another thirty countries had the rudiments of community development pilot projects, though not all of them were using that label. During the United Nations Decade for Development, it has been proposed that action be taken to strengthen existing community development programs and to extend them to other countries.

To the newly independent countries, such programs appear to offer a good means for bridging the gap between the diverse and urgent needs of development and the limited resources available. In older countries, community development may provide the answer to an important and baffling obstacle to development—the failure to enlist the support of people.

This paper explores some of the contributions Canada might make toward achievement of the United Nations' objectives.

A Word About Meaning.

A brief memorandum on this subject is certain to raise far more issues than is intended.

Community development, in international usage, is not concerned with any specialized field. It is concerned with the community as a whole, whose development calls for a broad general approach cutting across many specializations and many organized special interests. This community development approach to problem solving may at times seem strange and unnatural to us. Its distinguishing feature is that, like a well-equipped medical clinic, it brings together in one program all the various specialties needed to resolve local problems. It is designed to strengthen the ability of whole communities of people to advance through local action, supported by the agencies of government.

In Western societies, community development as defined above is just now coming to be viewed as a means for giving individuals and communities a sense of *renewed* purpose and achievement in an increasingly disruptive and impersonal urban-industrial environment. Many thoughtful leaders in developing countries, while eager to incorporate urban-industrial development into their own economies, clearly reject certain of its human side-effects that have become evident in the technologically more highly-developed nations. They see community development as a method and approach which will help their people attain the benefits of urban-industrial growth while avoiding its undesirable social by-products, such as "materialism", "alienation", "waste of natural resources".

The viewpoint taken in this memorandum is that Canadians can make their best international contribution to community development by becoming learners as well as teachers. They can do this by recognizing that both the highly-developed and the developing countries have moved into a period when a break with the past is providing opportunity for fresh assessment and re-definition of the role of communities in social and economic development.

Community Development in Canada

The significance of the break with the past can be illustrated by a review of Canadian experience with a comprehensive approach to community development. The emergence of thousands of small communities in Canada's pioneer era has shown what can be accomplished through individually- and community-generated self-help. There are also many examples of what governments can do by extending technical services in close co-operation with community groups. Voluntary organizations have emerged by the hundreds to mediate between citizens and governments. Local government units have been established to give further voice to local interests. Universities have joined with people in their communities for the purpose of economic and social development. The Antigonish Movement is an outstanding example.

This is all part of Canada's own proud history of weaving communities into the fabric of regional and national development. It is a story that ought to be told to our international visitors. But this needs to be carefully qualified. We are not at all certain that the elements which contributed to the early development of Canadian community enterprise are present in the developing countries. For example, Canadian pioneers did not have to emerge from thousands of years of isolation or feudalism to "leap-frog" their way into a world already dominated by science and its related technology. Our failures are hidden in the past. It may be well to avoid one understandable tendency to over-expose visitors from the developing countries to today's successes. They may be impressed, but not too enlightened about how to approach their own grim circumstances. Indeed, community approaches which worked for *us* in the past may not be effective today, and for them.

Canada's most exciting contributions may well come from the improvement of our own insight into current community development opportunities and problems. There are very few examples of comprehensive (i.e., multi-disciplinary) approaches to community development in Canada today. There is, however, a fast-growing interest in an expansion of such approaches. National voluntary organizations and government agencies at the provincial and federal level are beginning to recognize the need for collaboration among groups responsible for closely related programs. The low-income farm situation, for example, poses problems for agricultural extension, technical education, job-placement agencies, financial institutions, welfare agencies, health departments, housing authorities, and so on. As the cluster of economic, social, and psychological factors—which explain chronic low income—is better understood, there is recognition that a co-ordinated and collaborative effort on the part of all the agencies involved is needed to solve the problem. This is community development as it is emerging under present-day Canadian conditions. It is reflected in the passage of the Agricultural and Rural Rehabilitation Act with its specific emphasis on comprehensive rural development.

Today Canada presents a veritable "gold mine" of contrasting situations lending themselves to comprehensive community development approaches. Four such situations merit special attention:

1. Canada shares with many countries the difficult problem of developing healthy communities for its indigenous population. This serious problem at present plays an important part in Latin American community development efforts. The Eskimo and Indian in Canada's Northern Region are going through a painful period of detribalization and cultural disintegration. Only in recent years has an aroused public conscience stimulated official and voluntary programs designed to

alleviate this situation. But, although federal and provincial governments, as well as voluntary organizations, are now on the move, we are anything but clear on what we are doing and what the eventual results might be in the complex problems of *deliberate* cultural management to avoid the kinds of difficulties which have arisen in community development programs such as those of India or the Philippines.

2. Canada's rural communities are also in the midst of a fundamental transformation as they are drawn into the urban-industrial complex. Thousands of these communities are already in an advanced state of economic decline. Others are on the fence unable to try to decide whether to try to hold the line. Still others have enjoyed more favourable economic conditions but have been unable to rise to the greater challenges of social development.

   No one who has had direct experience with these various types of rural community situations can fail to be impressed by the seeming inability to mobilize human resources in communities once disorganization has set in. Often, well-intentioned attempts fail because they are carried on in piecemeal or segmented fashion. Voluntary organizations increase in number, while the ability to work together on larger community problems diminishes. Units of local government are no longer adequate for the planning and development of modern community services. Government agencies usually work independently of each other, often without realizing what a disintegrating effect this has on the community's identity. Even more serious is the dispersion of the rural family's community identifications. Looking to several complementary service centres for satisfaction of their needs, they quickly become caught up in intercentre competition which often defies comprehensive development.

   There is a very direct relationship between Canada's rural problems and those of the developing countries. Most of our experience in international community development has been with rural communities. The objectives of increased agricultural productivity, improved communications, better housing, prevention and treatment of disease, rudimentary sanitation, and literacy, have been dominant. Canadians can make a distinctly useful contribution to such countries by helping them to anticipate and plan for the social and economic changes associated with rises in agricultural productivity and improvements in the standard of living.

3. We can also point to the growing dilemma of ineffective community development in Canada's metropolitan areas. Here, we find debate about whether such areas are, in fact, communities. We have some excellent examples of urban renewal in which the visibly inadequate physical conditions have disappeared but where complex social problems remain hidden or have shifted to other neighbourhoods. The

creation of viable units of metropolitan government presents problems as difficult as the resolution of conflicts between tribal and civic jurisdictions in Ghana or Senegal.

Any contribution that Canadians can make to insight into method and approach to comprehensive urban community development will be most timely. It is estimated that over 200 million new inhabitants will crowd into the cities of Africa, Asia, and Latin America during the United Nations Development Decade. Community development will be on trial as a means to counteract social disruption in rapidly industrializing areas and to help solve problems of urban fringe settlements.

4. A further challenge to Canadian ingenuity in community development lies in the emergence of categories of individuals who have somehow been by-passed by the benefits of urban-industrial growth: the prematurely retired, the chronically unemployed, underemployed low-income farmers, school drop-outs, juvenile delinquents, the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, the chronically ill, the mentally sick, and so on. Certainly these categories cut across the three situations discussed above but they are classical illustrations of how the quality of social change and the ability of individuals to achieve choice and dignity can go amiss. While we are moving rapidly toward greater enlightenment in our diagnosis of these situations, in general our official approach to solving them has been largely bureaucratic. We find it more expedient to build homes for the old folks than to change established patterns of employment or to create relationships which make for a more normal community environment. More imaginative ways of dealing with such problems require more complex and less traditional methods of involvement and decision-making.

All this may seem far removed from the problems of the underdeveloped countries. But those problems do provide striking demonstrations of how our own society is struggling with the difficulties created when individuals are caught up in the pressure spots of rapid change. In this sense, the position of the prematurely retired person in Canada may not be too different, in principle, from the woman of a matriarchal village of Northern Rhodesia who migrates into the patriarchal wage system of the Coppertown. In both instances, individuals are faced with problems of role redefinition which require understanding help from the community. There is a growing interest among Canadians in utilizing community relationships to help solve such problems. But we still have much to learn about how this can best be done in a technologically advancing society like ours.

This may appear to be a negative approach to Canada's contribution to community development in the developing countries. It is sincerely intended to underline *our* opportunity to assist by better understanding Canada's own situations. Help extended by those capable of constructive criticism of their own performance is always eagerly sought. Foreign observers will be more impressed by what we are doing than by what we say we have done. Canada's problems of community development will have to be dealt with in terms of our position in the continuum of social and economic development. World-wide experience has demonstrated that the concept of involving people, organizations, and agencies through comprehensive community-based programs can be adapted to widely varying social, economic, and political circumstances. Thus, anything that Canada can do to better understand, to re-discover, and to rehabilitate its own communities under prevailing conditions can provide an invaluable laboratory for the developing countries. We are particularly well-equipped to do this, thanks to our intellectual and financial resources which are not available to most of the underdeveloped areas.

Canada's Contributions to Technical Assistance.

The thesis that Canada is more notable for its opportunities to experiment with new approaches to community development than for its actual accomplishments under present-day conditions may be unacceptable to many Canadians. The basic premise underlying this thesis is that, if technical assistance is to be effective, it should emphasize knowledge and skills relevant to the comprehensive approach to community development. The very nature of Canadian society tends to create conditions just opposite to the international (i.e. comprehensive) conception. That is, our increasing specialization in government services and in voluntary organizations is likely to segment rather than build cohesion into local communities.

Against this background, this paper has underlined Canada's growing opportunities to undertake experimentation in community development focussed on its indigenous population, its transitional rural communities, its burgeoning metropolitan areas, and its human by-products of urban-industrial change. The logical conclusion would be to suggest that Canada strive to increase substantially its own knowledge and understanding of the role of community development under conditions of rapid social and economic change. Here we are, at least in principle, on common ground with the technologically less-advanced countries. In so doing, Canada will provide an invaluable laboratory for the interpretation of social change and the problems of motivation, organization, and administration that are associated with it. It will also gradually increase its own reservoir of skilled consultants for more direct service in the developing countries. In the author's view, failure to comprehend Canada's contributions at this level of sophistication will mean the default of the leadership Canadians are expected to provide at a time when all societies—developed and developing—are in state of transition.

To provide more concrete illustrations of Canada's possible contributions, several suggestions are made under three categories of technical assistance: research, training, and consultation.

1. Technical Assistance Through Research

At present, Canada is not well-equipped to undertake the multi-disciplinary social research needed for increased knowledge and skill in community development. In part, this is due to the serious lag in the building up of social-science departments, the shortage of qualified social scientists, and the extreme pressure on existing departments in our universities. But, even if this lag did not exist, there would still remain our leaning toward research specialization and a tendency to remain somewhat aloof from analysis of the pragmatic problems of community development. The very nature of development requires a strong emphasis on applied research where groups of social scientists can contribute the insights of their various disciplines for collaborative studies on the human aspects.

The Netherlands have already given leadership in this respect by a gift of one million dollars to the United Nations for a Research Institute for Developing Countries. Canada might well consider adding to the financial resources needed to establish and expand the work of this Institute. It could also develop opportunities for collaborative research either in this country or by sending teams to work at the Institute. In a broader sense, Canada could encourage an exchange of personnel with research institutes in the developing countries.

It can be argued that Canada should be imaginative enough to establish its own national institute for research into the problems of rapid social change and development. This need not focus specifically on community development. Obviously, community development can become no more sophisticated than our knowledge of the factors influencing change will permit. The Centre for Community Studies, located at the University of Saskatchewan, is the only full-scale research unit designed to do this in Canada today.

There are also opportunities to take greater advantage of research investments already available. The Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, to choose one example, has provided for the investment of not less than five percent of its funds in research on rural development. Under the Act, the number and variety of approaches to rural development are increasing in most Canadian provinces. But very little research is being directed into the analysis of the organization, administration, and educational processes of comprehensive local development. The opportunities for research are available but they are not being utilized.

An emphasis on research is essentially of long-rather than short-term significance. But the problems of helping individuals and communities are also long-term. What we lack is sophisticated insight into both the theory and practice of social dynamics. This is the least advanced aspect of the social sciences, not only in Canada, but everywhere.

2. Technical Assistance Through Training

The opportunities for adequate training of community-development personnel will obviously depend on our resources for research. Unless training is closely associated with research, it can quickly degenerate in clichés and social patent medicine. Because of the serious deficiencies in the social-science resources of our universities and the difficulty of incorporating the behavioral sciences into the curricula of many professional schools, Canada is sadly deficient in professional personnel (extension, welfare, health, etc.) who are qualified to facilitate comprehensive development in its own communities.

The author is not aware of any institution in Canada which is now equipped or prepared to provide in-service training in comprehensive community development for Canadian technical assistance personnel or for visiting foreign personnel. The Schools of Social Work are perhaps more inclined to this orientation but tend still to cling to the narrower conception of community organization. In common with other types of professional schools, role changes have been taking place in field personnel with such rapidity that curricula cannot keep up with the necessary adaptations.

Without having sufficient evidence to warrant generalization, the author is under the impression that the Coady International Institute and the Western Co-operative College are providing the training most closely associated with the concept of community development. But these institutions are oriented primarily toward co-operative development. While this is an important adjunct of community development in the developing countries, it does not meet the need. Nor do they have access to the resources of the behavioral sciences. While Canada need not aspire to the massive training effort in community development available to the United States Peace Corps recruits, a better-focussed effort seems necessary if it is to make a useful contribution.

3. Technical Assistance Through Consultation

The ability of Canadians to offer consulting services on community development both in Canada and in the developing countries would appear to depend critically on the proficiency of personnel employed in both voluntary organizations and government agencies. The author has been depressed again and again by the comments made by foreign observers after they have visited various communities across Canada. Unless they have been unusually perceptive, their remarks show, as a rule, that they have gained very little real understanding of the dynamics of the conditions they have observed, or of the ways and means of applying what they have learned here to their respective back-home situations.

It is worth emphasizing again that the community development consultant must be able to visualize *all* of the physical, social, and economic factors that together mould a community. Unless he clearly understands the concept of community development in its most comprehensive sense, continuously points his work toward the goal it embraces, and avoids confusing the means with the ends, he cannot be effective. The North American over-emphasis on specific subject-matter training incapacitates many promising international consultants who would otherwise be in a position to facilitate community development programs in the countries they are serving. This becomes particularly serious when their specific function is to provide consultation on community development.

There is a growing interest among Canada's helping professions (extension, social work, etc.) in developing preventive approaches to community well-being. The social workers have been our most sophisticated professionals, but strangely enough they have not been used extensively as consultants. As indicated in the discussion on training, almost all the helping professions are struggling with the problem of incorporating more of the social sciences in their professional curricula. As they become involved in development programs, whether indigenous, rural, or urban, they find they must learn to collaborate with colleagues in other professions and with lay citizens. The problems of co-ordination and cooperation they now experience are closely related to the problems the community development consultant will face both at home and abroad.

(6) The Need for Adult Basic Education

EDITH ADAMSON (1965)

In 1961 there were 1,024,785 persons, young people and adults, who reported no schooling or no more than four grades of elementary schooling. This was the figure which reached the headlines in December 1965 as "one million illiterates" at the time of the Conference on Poverty in Ottawa. This phrase is misleading for several reasons. These individuals gave a simple answer to a simple question on level of schooling. They did not fail a literacy test since none was administered. No question was asked about out-of-school education, self-directed or otherwise. Although the use of the term "illiterates" is deplorable, the headline writers were simply making the same assumptions as were made at the beginning of this paper, and should be credited with drawing attention to a paradox in our society, where free compulsory education to age 16 is assumed to mean at least the completion of elementary schooling for all.

In the past two weeks I have compiled all the available Census data on these persons with a maximum of four years schooling who constituted 9.3 per cent of the population 15 years of age and over not at school.

This additional information, statistical though it is, may help us to see them as individuals with varied characteristics and backgrounds, achievements and needs.

First of all, sketches of two typical Canadians, who reported no more than 4 years of schooling. The man (and slightly more than half were men) was 55 years of age, born in Canada, and lived in a centre of 1,000 population or over. If English-speaking, he lived in Ontario; French-speaking, he lived in Quebec. He earned an average of $2,389 a year and probably worked in a construction trade. Although specific data on housing, marital status and children were not available, it is probable that he was married to someone with similar schooling and had three children, who did not continue in school beyond the age of compulsory schooling.

The typical woman with limited education was 54 years of age, lived in a centre of 1,000 population or larger, was English-speaking in Ontario, or French-speaking in Quebec, and was Canadian born. She was not a member of the labour force, and had no income of her own. She was probably married to someone with similar schooling and had three children who did not attend school beyond the age of compulsory education.

However, since I am inclined to agree with the sage who said "all generalizations are false, including this one," I found myself fascinated by some of the atypical characteristics revealed in the statistics on those with limited education. Galbraith pointed out, in *The Affluent Society*, that averages tend to decrease visibility, and help to conceal the extremes of poverty and wealth. Thus the averages used in the illustrations above tend to create stereotypes which conceal the rich variety possible in individuals.

1. There were 109,800 persons 15 to 29 years of age not at school with no more than 4 years of schooling in 1961, according to the Census. As far as can be ascertained, no public funds were spent on the education of these young people in that year. There were 114,672 full-time university students in Canada in 1961 and the taxpayers spent, through various levels of government, a total of more than 200 million dollars on university education in that year, or over $1,800 per full-time student.
2. There were 18,022 persons with no more than four years schooling engaged in managerial, professional and technical occupations. The majority were managers and owners of manufacturing, construction, wholesale, retail, and personal service industries, and a few were religious workers, artists, teachers, etc., reporting schooling at this level.
3. Although the average annual wage and salary income of non-farm wage-earners with no more than four years of schooling was $2,389 for men and $1,268 for women, there were 10,649 persons with this schooling who reported earnings of more than $5,000 in 1961.

4. More than one-third of the total population 15 years and over with four years or less of schooling, (367,550) were women not in the labour force. Forty-eight percent of these were between 15 and 54 years of age and were probably housewives caring for children. The implications of this are probably familiar to you. There have been numerous studies of underprivileged children which demonstrated positive correlations between the level of schooling of mothers and the educational aspirations and achievements of their children.

   The other 52 percent of these women, who were 55 years of age or older, were unlikely to enter the labour force, and many could expect to exist for another 15 or 20 years on welfare or old age assistance.

   At the same time the Census data revealed 216,109 men, not in the labour force, with no schooling or four years or less. Seventy-three percent of these men were 55 years of age or over, and many of them could look forward only to the same bleak existence as women of the same education level.

   These people are apt to be lost sight of in our current concern with education as a factor in economic development, and the need to upgrade the educational qualifications of the labour force. Yet their educational needs, to assist them to achieve more satisfying personal lives and to participate more fully in society as citizens, should be kept in mind.

5. A total of 1,689,636 persons lived in families, of which the head had no schooling or grades 1-4 only. There were 667,918 children and young people in these families, representing 9.5 percent of all dependent children in families in Canada, or almost one in 10. The families contained an average of 4.1 persons each, compared with an average of 3.9 for all families. In families for whom wage earnings were reported, those with no schooling or grades 1-4 only earned $3,318 per family during the year, compared with an average of $4,985 for all families. Wage earning data does not take into account those families who subsisted on unemployment insurance, relief, or other non-wage payments, or the self-employed.

6. Canadian-born Indians and Eskimos, 15 years of age and over with no schooling or grades 1-4, represented only 5 percent of our total group, numbering 53,873. Yet their plight has been made visible, partly because they live in more concentrated groupings than many others with limited education, and partly because their educational opportunities have been much more limited than those of other Canadians.

   When we compare Canadian-born Indians with the total population, by education level, we find that 43.6 percent of Indians 15 years of age and over had no schooling or elementary grades 1-4 only, compared with 8.6 percent in the total population. More than 90 percent of Eskimos 15 years of age and over had no schooling, or elementary grades 1-4 only. The increase in opportunities for Indians and Eskimos in recent years have concentrated on bringing their young people into the educational mainstream. Education opportunities extended to adults, which show respect for the cultural heritage of the native peoples of Canada, will help to raise the economic standard of living and enrich our entire culture.

7. The non-Canadian born, 15 years of age and over with no schooling or 1-4 grades, numbered 256,643 or 25.8 percent of the total. This does not include the 40,580 non-Canadian born persons of British (Isles) and French origin, who probably arrived in Canada without a language handicap.

   Almost 63 percent of all non-Canadians born with this level of schooling immigrated before 1931, and just 28.9 percent arrived between 1951 and 1961. Those providing adult based education for the foreign-born may wish to compare data on their students by period of immigration to measure the extent to which needs are being met.

Before I close I would like to say a word about a subject which is dear to my heart–the role of the library in adult basic education. Public libraries should provide supplementary reading materials, of adult interest, appropriately written, to give the adult, who is beginning to read, practice and encouragement. This is a new area for libraries in Canada, of which they are just becoming aware. You can help them to serve this need by approaching them directly. Ask the librarian of your local public library to set up a display of suitable materials for your class, so that you may take them to the library for a visit.

(7) Adult Education Research in Canada

JAMES A. DRAPER (1969)

Orientation to Adult Education Research

Adult education in Canada, when viewed as a research area as well as a field of study, is relatively new. This fact has direct implications for the scope, kind, and depth of research being conducted. When we speak of research it is perhaps best to think of an activity which is characterized by systematic planning, carrying out, reporting and interpretation of some area of inquiry. This oversimplified statement includes research which is aimed at becoming familiar with phenomena or data, as in exploratory research. It would also include inquiry intended to record characteristics of a situation, of a group, or of a person, as in descriptive research, as well as attempts to test hypotheses or causal relationships between variables such as that attempted in experimental research.

Up to 1967 there had been little systematic and regular reporting of adult education research in Canada. There are some exceptions to this.

Prior to 1967 the Canadian Association for Adult Education had summarized literature relevant to adult education research and Annual Adult Education Research Conferences also provided opportunities to disseminate adult education research.

It must be realized that relevant research, as reported in the above mentioned non-degree and degree research publications, may never be more than a small part of all the research that is applicable to adult education. This would apply to the research not reported but relating directly to adult education as well as research indirectly related which is carried on by those in other disciplines. In fact, this interdisciplinary nature of adult education has always been seen as one of its strengths. A great deal of relevant literature has come out of other disciplines such as psychology, social work, sociology, anthropology, history, communications, counseling, group dynamics, administration, and others. Evidence of the extent and value of research in other fields of study to adult education is documented and analyzed by surveys conducted at the University of British Columbia, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), the University of Wisconsin, and elsewhere. One of the most extensive studies done along these lines was conducted by Burton Kreitlow. He related adult education to other disciplines and constructed a scheme of research needs in adult education; the scheme included the interrelationship of the adult as an individual and learner with the research base being psychology, the adult's response to social and cultural phenomena with the research base being sociology and anthropology, and the wide area of study of education with a related component being the adult education enterprise itself.

Analysis of Research in Canada

Annual reviews of non-degree adult education research in Canada continue to be published, the first one covering the calendar year 1967. These publications have been a collaborative venture of the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and the Department of Adult Education of OISE.

The fifteen categories with the largest number of projects are:

Research Topic	**Frequency**
Evaluation of Programs	44
Characteristics of Adults	39
Adult Basic Education	33
Organization Roles	22
Program Planning	17
Standards and Equivalency	17
Training	17
Attendance/Participation Patterns	16

Interests and Needs	16
Mass Media	16
Guidance and Counseling	11
Research Surveys	11
Social Action	11
Teachers and Adult Leaders	11
Attitudes	9
Learning Process	8
Specific Methods	8
Diploma and Certificate Programs	7
Indians	7
International and Comparative	6
Methods	6
Benefit and Cost Analysis	4
Historical	4
Second Language Teaching	4
Women Learners	4
District and Regional Planning	2

Summary

Some attempts are made in a few of the studies to include a longitudinal perspective but there are very few such longitudinal studies. Most of the studies focus on short-term immediate concerns.

The descriptive method of research is highly prevalent. Few historical studies are being conducted but there is almost a total lack of experimental and theoretical research.

The survey methodology, using questionnaires and interviews, is one that appears to be used most frequently. Invariably the survey method is used to describe what is going on or to assess needs and interests of individuals and organizations with a view to gaining direction and guidance for planning educational programs.

Few studies indicate that a thorough review of relevant literature has been conducted. One might conclude that much of the research which is presently being done is conducted without a full knowledge of related research conducted elsewhere.

Most studies are focused on a single educational program; few encompass regional, provincial, or national coverage.

In examining the various research studies which have been reported, the feeling is that many organizations do not have an integrated well planned program of research.

Researchers represent a very wide range of subject matter specialization with very few reporting that the subject matter specialization in the last university degree which they received was actually in the area of adult education. Furthermore, most of the non-degree research in adult education which is being conducted in Canada is being done by persons who have not had formal training in research methodology.

The largest number of studies are being conducted by universities. One must assume that the majority of such studies are being conducted either by university extension divisions or by graduate studies adult education departments.

Very few studies are financed outside of the researcher's own organization. Outside organizations financing adult education research included departments of Manpower and Immigration, the Alberta Tuberculosis Association, Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of Indian Affairs, and a graduate nursing school.

Adult education in Canada is pluralistic. Activities and research relating to it are carried on by a number of governmental, education, and voluntary organizations, particularly at the local levels. In most cases, those organizations conducting research are also those which are involved in the planning of educational programs for adults.

Some Implications

An interdisciplinary and interpersonal approach to adult education is to be encouraged. In fact, important contributions to adult education research come from other disciplines. To this end, the adult educator is encouraged to influence his colleagues in other disciplines to conduct research relevant to the field of adult education. In some cases, an emphasis on this interdisciplinary approach to research might prove to be a better utilization of resources than for adult educators and their organizations to emphasize exclusively the creation of separate adult education research centres. Undoubtedly what is needed is that research be conducted on all fronts and within a greater number of disciplines concurrently. Greater emphasis also should be given to the sharing and dissemination of such research findings.

Persons doing research in adult education in Canada are to be encouraged to become more conversant with the literature on research in the field of adult education and elsewhere. On the one hand this might increase the depth and quality of the research being conducted. On the other hand, the sharing of research findings and the building of these into research designs are likely to add greatly to the theory and knowledge base of adult education as a field of practice and study.

There seems to be an obvious need for more organizations to have integrated and well planned programs of research. Educational programs themselves would undoubtedly benefit if they had built into them action research and evaluation.

There seems to be a need to encourage the conducting of more historical studies, particularly those relating to Canadian studies. The multitude of adult education organizations in Canada indicate a wealth of historical material that needs to be analyzed within the Canadian social, political, and economic context. One has the feeling that many organizations still do not value the archives of their own organizations and the importance of keeping full records of the programs and decision-making processes of these organizations. In many cases, such organizations should be encouraged to place their collections in provincial or national archives.

There is also a need to encourage studies of a longitudinal nature as they might be related on the one hand to educational planning and on the other to evaluation and follow-up of educational programs. Presumably some of these longitudinal studies would include control and experimental groups, thus increasing their potential to contribute to adult education theory and knowledge.

Research relating to tests of equivalency should be strongly encouraged in the near future. There is already ample evidence that highly motivated adults who are unable to meet university entrance requirements are able to perform well at the postgraduate level. Perhaps more administrators of university and industrial policies can be convinced of this reality through the findings of research.

A great deal of attention is put on the adult in his role as student. In addition to this, perhaps more concern might be given to the adult's work role capacity such as teacher, counselor, and administrator. Much more work is needed in the area of professional development and the continuing education of the professions. It is in this area of research and related teaching methodologies associated with the continuing education of professionals, that adult educators might be able to make great contributions to the other professions.

Researchers might be encouraged to involve students more fully in research, particularly in evaluation research since participants with diverse motives will evaluate experiences quite differently from those of the adult educator. Involvement in research studies can in itself be a learning experience from which staff and student members of organizations can benefit. Involvement is also one other way to have persons understand more fully the process and benefits of research.

Research is needed on:

Aging and the pre- and post-retirement needs of adults as well as the whole area of the creative use of leisure time.

Innovative learning programs and methodologies. How many adult education programs are still conducted in traditional schoolroom settings? What innovative learning environments and methodologies might be introduced?

The administration and financing of adult programs. Presumably the practitioner researcher could make a significant contribution in these areas of inquiry.

It has always been known that more learning has gone on outside of the classroom than within it. Such non-institutional learning activities, and the extent of these, are now being documented. The adult educator and his organization can hardly ignore the challenge to offer assistance and resources to autonomous learners but without interfering with the autonomy of the learner. Community resource centers and consultations are only a few ways in which adult educators can encourage adults with their systematic learning projects outside of institutional settings.

The concern with the problems of population concentration in metropolitan areas and the associated problems of opening new doors of opportunity in less populated areas calls for more research in the area of human interaction, community education, and community development. Examples of this would be research which assists community-based organizations to relate more effectively to their constituencies. For instance, there is evidence that the community school concept is being more widely implemented. How can these schools relate more effectively to adults and others in the communities surrounding these schools? How can schools, as educational institutions encourage and facilitate the intimate involvement of adults in the decision-making process, and in such decisions as how schools are being run and what should be taught within them. Similar questions might be asked with reference to universities, colleges, and government organizations.

An examination of programs aimed at the undereducated adult, including a look at the lack of clarity between and among geographical regions and organizations.

What are the realities of educational opportunities for Indian populations? For minority groups? For all citizens in Canada's northland areas?

Adult learning opportunities for physically handicapped adults.

There is much to be learned about the use of the mass media, including cable TV for educational purposes, and their combination with other methods used in education, such as group discussion and program instruction.

(8) Organizing Graduate Professional Education for Adult Education

COOLIE VERNER (1969)

I

Adult education is a relatively new discipline that is appearing with greater frequency in university curriculae. Although Columbia University established the first department in 1930 proliferation has been slow and by 1962 some fifteen universities had established departments. Among these, were some of the most noted universities on the continent. Well over 100 universities and colleges now purport to offer graduate professional education in adult education but it is doubtful that all of these are in fact legitimate programs in adult education.

With the growth in the number of university programs has come a corresponding increase in the number of professionally educated people supplied to the field. At the same time, these programs have accelerated the development of knowledge about educating adults. By 1969, there has been awarded some 752 doctorates in adult education and the number of research studies has increased a hundredfold with an accelerating annual rate of increase.

This growth in university programs of graduate professional education reflects an increasing recognition of adult education as a field of social practice and as an academic discipline. The growth in programs has not been entirely logical or constructive as it has tended to occur solely within Schools of Education where it has been viewed primarily as an extension of pedagogy rather than as a distinct subject with its own unique body of knowledge and practice. Furthermore, this has tended to divisiveness as it has excluded major components of adult education such as agricultural extension or public health education. Fortunately, this, too, shows evidence of change not only at the University of British Columbia, which I know, but at several other universities as well, notably the University of Wisconsin, where there is a combined department.

Too many of the newer university programs are in the hands of individuals not expert in the discipline with the result that graduates are released to the field deficient in knowledge and without a clear perception of the unique characteristics of the profession they have entered. This results in practice that is little more than an extension of schooling rather than in carefully structured learning opportunities for adults.

In part, the cause of this perversion of the discipline can be found in the too rapid proliferation of programs and in the inability of the older established universities to supply the academic cadre required to staff new programs; but for the most part it is due to the failure of deans and faculties of education to recognize and accept adult education as an academic discipline with its own distinctive body of knowledge related to but different from the normal concerns of a school of education. As a result, personnel to staff programs are drawn from education rather than adult education or they may be experienced practitioners drawn from the field on the assumption that experience is more relevant than knowledge.

This inability to accept adult education as a distinct field and discipline stems from a too limited perception of the phenomenon called education. Since schools of education are principally concerned with the preparation of professional leadership for and the advancement of knowledge about the traditional educational institutions in society, education is equated with schooling and learning with education.

Adult education operates both within and apart from the traditional institutionalized forms of education. Consequently, it is concerned with learning events in a wider social milieu and this produces a broader conception of education than that of schooling, and it begins from a different base. Adult education deals with education in many diverse ways that are unrecognizable to those whose perception of education is limited to institutionalized forms. As a result, adult education must deal with terms and concepts borrowed from pedagogy but reformulated to fit the kinds of phenomena encountered in educating adults. Therefore, professional education for adult education must of necessity be broader in scope and intrinsically different from that provided for leadership for the established educational institutions.

II

The development of an academic university program about adult education is no simple matter because it entails a radical departure from traditional thought about education. Thus, at the outset, it is necessary to establish the basic concepts about the field and discipline upon which graduate education will be built. But before these concepts can be identified it is necessary to analyze certain pre-suppositions.

Pre-suppositions.

The existence of and justification for continuing education stems from the nature of human society.[1]

I. Human society is a dynamic entity that constantly undergoes change leading to the advancement and improvement of the conditions of human existence.
II. A dynamic society requires members who are reasonably well adjusted and capable of making further adjustments to continuously changing conditions and circumstances.
III. This necessity for continuous adjustment requires continuous learning.
IV. The human animal is capable of learning continuously if provided with access to the learning required.
V. Because of the complexity of the human existence, a society must make special provisions to insure that the required learning is available.

Although these pre-suppositions are self-evident they are not universally recognized and accepted even by those involved in education. Thus, society has been slow in accepting the responsibility that insures the availability of opportunities for learning continuously. It was not until the early part of the nineteenth century that provisions were made for continuous education. At that time, too, came the awareness that education intended for adults must differ from that for children. This resulted in the first book about educating adults published in 1814 that coined the phrase *adult education* and laid the foundations for the discipline.[2]

Since then, continuing education for adults spread throughout the fabric of society and has become so pervasive that it is not recognized for what it is because it is not institutionalized. This pervasiveness creates problems for the discipline in that it is necessary to set parameters for its role. Adult education is concerned only with continuing education not with continuous learning and while there is a clear differentiation between these concepts, too many insist on including within the concerns of the discipline all adult learning whether or not education is involved.

Organizing Concepts

The pre-suppositions identify the functional utility of adult education as a matter of vital concern. Simultaneously, they identify and clarify the basic concepts about it which help to organize graduate professional education. These organizing concepts are, in some ways, the criteria that set parameters for the content included in a program of study and help to identify the scope of relevant research.

Adult education is at one and the same time a *field of social practice* and a *social science discipline*. The nature and requirements of the field determine the form and content of the discipline while it, in turn, finds its subjects for study in the field and educates the leadership for it.

I. Adult education is a *field of social practice* in which adults are provided opportunities for systematic education to meet their persistent need to learn. Systematic education incorporates planned purposeful learning activities conducted under the continuing guidance of an educational agent who can influence the conditions for learning to increase the probability that the learning objectives will in fact be achieved. The field derives its ethos and ethic from the society in which it occurs. The field is identified as continuing education.

II. Adult education is a social science discipline. As such, it differs from some other disciplines and, to some extent, has its own unique characteristics.[3]

   1. Adult education is a *factual* or *descriptive* discipline concerned both with the conditions influencing adult learning and with the factors affecting the provision of opportunities for systematic education for adults.
   2. It is a *normative* discipline in that it is concerned with deliberate attempts to help adults develop in certain ways.
   3. It is an *eclectic* discipline because it draws upon other disciplines for such knowledge as may be relevant to the education of adults.[4]
   4. It is a *practical* discipline since its primary concern is the application of knowledge to the provision of opportunities for further education for adults.

Thus, the discipline of adult education concentrates on the discovery, interpretation, application, and diffusion of knowledge that will contribute to the achievement of more effective and efficient continuing education.

III. Continuing education permeates the total social milieu. Opportunities for systematic education are provided in many settings under the auspices of diverse agencies that have little in common other than their involvement with continuing education. In spite of such diversity in the field, there is a body of fundamental knowledge about educating adults that is common to every situation. To this common core may be added such specific knowledge as may be relevant to particular forms of continuing education.

IV. Although systematic educational activities for adults will usually produce learning, not all adult learning is of concern to the discipline of adult education.
This is not to say that the adult learning excluded here is without value or interest but since it is virtually an unidentifiable phenomenon it is unmanageable for either research or practice. Furthermore, some parameters must be established for the discipline and this seems the most logical point at which to set the boundaries. There are many in the field who are not in agreement on this point.

III

The field of continuing education requires an increasing number of individuals educated specifically to provide programs for adults. This is emerging as a new profession related to but not identical with the teaching profession. The use of the term *education* in designating the field and the discipline has generated the assumption that education and training for this new profession is indistinguishable from the more familiar teacher education programs.

There is ample historical and experimental evidence available to indicate that the kind of knowledge and the learning experiences provided in teacher education are not appropriate for continuing education yet the myth of identity persists. This has been perpetuated in part by the generally accepted notion that all education is the same; in part by the complexity of the field that makes continuing education visible only in institutional forms; and in part by the failure to clarify the role and function of professional leadership in the field.

In the main, professional leadership in the field performs two main roles:[5]

Instructional Role.

This is the basic role of leadership and involves the design and management of specific educational activities for adults. Here the primary concern is with the selection and ordering of the learning tasks, the use of specific techniques and devices to facilitate learning, the continuing management of the learning activity, and the measurement of achievement.

Administrative Role.

In this role the leader is responsible for the use of institutional resources through determining program areas, clientele analysis, the selection of method, the management of operations, and the appraisal of the program achievements.

Formal institutions with large commitment to the education of adults usually employ personnel for one or another of these two roles and they are differentiated within the institutional structure. In many cases, however, the roles are not clearly distinguished so that a single individual may perform both roles interchangeably. This is the case with agriculture or home agents in the extension service. Because of this frequent melding of roles, the core program of professional education in adult education is necessary for everyone.

IV

The basic knowledge that makes up the core content of the discipline is derived from a number of sources. Some is appropriated without change from another discipline, some may be borrowed from elsewhere and re-formulated to suit adult education, and some knowledge is generated within the discipline itself. In the early development of the discipline most of the content originated in other disciplines but in later years the amount generated within adult education has increased markedly.

Because of the eclectic nature of the discipline it is desirable to formulate some criteria for the selection and adaptation of knowledge borrowed from elsewhere.

I. The knowledge helps to explain some phenomena encountered in the field or discipline.
II. It helps in the solution of practical problems encountered in the field.
III. It can be translated into operational principles that will contribute to greater efficiency and effectiveness in educational programming.
IV. It contributes to the development of essential attitudes, values, or skills important to the field.
V. It can be re-formulated so that it is applicable to adult education.
VI. It is derived solely from adult populations.
VII. It relates to systematic education for adults.

In the search for appropriate knowledge from other disciplines, these criteria can be particularly helpful in identifying segments of knowledge that might be otherwise overlooked. As an example of this neglect, very few universities included in their curriculum any consideration of the wealth of knowledge accumulated in the literature related to the acceptance and adoption of innovations yet this contains some of the most important information available. Similar neglect is evident with respect to literature on communication and social and applied anthropology.

The identification and selection of knowledge useful to adult education is a continuing process that requires periodic summary and codification. For this reason research views are a necessary adjunct in the development of the content of the discipline.

Over the years, the component knowledge at the core of the discipline has been catalogued and sorted into several categories that can be identified as follows:[6]

Adult learning
Psychology of adults
Physiology of aging
Adult instruction
Instructional processes
Instructional devices
The client system
The organization system
The social setting
The role of adult education
Historical foundations

These categories define the primary areas of content and the major spheres for research. They provide a structure for course construction and for the identification of areas of specialization. To these core categories can be added such subsidiary units as may be indicated by the clientele in the field, but there is a danger of unnecessary and undesirable proliferation at this point.

Since adult education is an applied discipline some subsidiary divisions may be required within the structure of the basic core. At present there is a growing tendency to fragment the discipline into sub-units based on the providing institution, the potential clientele, or the content of the educational program. Such partitioning of the discipline stems from the complex and diffuse nature of the field rather than from the structure of knowledge in adult education. Thus, instead of adding a course in Adult Vocational Education because of presumed differences in learning or instruction on the basis of content, we would be better advised to think in terms of the real learning problems encountered in vocational education. These learning problems fall into the psycho-motor domain but they are not associated solely with the learning of vocational skills. Psychomotor learning is a distinct kind of learning that requires special consideration, particularly when adults are involved.[7]

It is also encountered in learning an art or craft, in sports and games, or in musical performance. Thus there is no real difference in acquiring one kind of skill or another for whatever purpose or activity but there are real differences between the cognitive, affective, or psycho-motor domains of learning and instruction. A division of knowledge on this basis is logical and pragmatic because it has a more rational and extensive application to the kinds of educational problems encountered in the field.

A similar analysis can be made with respect to the organizational system or the client system. The administrative role involves essentially the same activities and responsibilities in every situation so that there is no real difference in function that is dictated by the form of the institution making it necessary to create sub-categories of knowledge by institution. A professionally educated adult educator can perform the administrative functions in a school system, university, or business with equal facility. Similarly, the functions exercised in the instructional role are not distinctly different in managing instruction for adult illiterates or continuing professional education, since the principles of adult learning and instruction are common to all adults in any learning situation.

To recapitulate, then, the courses constructed for professional education in adult education should be based on the nature and content of the discipline rather than on the characteristics of the field. This will emphasize commonalities and provide unity in the field.

V

In addition to information and skills, a professional education program in adult education must also include the development of attitudes and values related to the adult as a learner and the role of adult education. Such values are acquired more readily when they are present in the learning environment. In so far as the normal constraints inherent in university graduate study will allow, the program should operate within a learning environment that is representative of the practices desired for the field. Thus, conditions should be established and fostered that will contribute to the growth of a professional *esprit de corps* and a common identity.

To establish such an environment it will be necessary to modify the traditional patterns of university study. The time honoured roles of student and teacher will be replaced by a learning group concept in which everyone shares the learning experience. In this way the program will demonstrate the application of knowledge to practice in such a way as to integrate theory and practice functionally.

In a good learning environment, the participants will acquire learning about adult education through the process of living as much as through courses. Therefore, the total experiences of the learner must become part of the curriculum and be planned as a total entity rather than solely as a series of courses.

VI

The discovery of new knowledge and the establishment of new relationships among older fragments of knowledge are deeply embedded in the traditions of every academic discipline. In no other discipline, perhaps, is this more crucial than it is in adult education at this stage of development. In every discipline, knowledge begins with accumulated folk-wisdom derived from experience which leads to the formulation of principles and generalizations that govern practice. As a discipline matures these must be tested under controlled conditions so as to verify or reject them, in order to improve practice.

At the moment continuing education tends to operate more on the basis of folk-wisdom than by certified fact, because it is difficult for people to abandon functional folk-principles even when they are known to be wrong. Folk-wisdom tells us that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks" and this shibboleth survives among many in adult education in spite of the work of men such as Thorndike, Lorge, or Weschler which has long since rejected it. The lecture was long thought to be the best instructional technique and persists as of old even among adult educators although research informs us of its limitations.

Testing folk-wisdom is an important component of research in adult education but it is often inhibited by the state of research technology in the discipline. Of far greater importance, perhaps, is the development of instruments and techniques for the study of crucial problems in the field. A crucial matter, for example, is the assessment of the learning achieved in an activity yet adult education has developed too few instruments to that end.[8] Consequently, we have no sure way of determining the effectiveness of instruction.

In order to advance knowledge systematically, it is necessary for research to be cumulative rather than indiscriminately following the vagaries of the hour. To promote the systematic accumulation of knowledge for the discipline it is necessary to establish criteria for research.

I. The research deals exclusively with adults.
II. It is directly related to adult education.
III. It investigates real problems of concern to the field and/or the discipline.
IV. It contributes to an explanation of the phenomena with which adult education deals.
V. It tests the applicability to adult education of knowledge derived from other disciplines.
VI. It is directly related to previous research and contributes to the systematic accumulation of knowledge about educating adults.
VII. It contributes to the graduate professional education of leadership for the field.

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1 Coolie Verner, *A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education*. (Washington, 1962) p. 1.

2 Thomas Pole, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*... Bristol, 1819.

See *Pole's History of Adult Schools. A Reprint of the 1816 Edition with An Introduction and Bibliographical Notes by Coolie Verner*. (Washington, 1967).

3 Gale E. Jensen, "The Nature of Education as a Discipline." In: *Readings for Educational Researchers*, edited by Gale E. Jensen. (Ann Arbor, 1960).

4 This characteristic was not included by Jensen but was added by the author here as an additional characteristic of adult education.

5 Coolie Verner and Alan Booth, *Adult Education*. (New York, 1964) pp. 34-38.

6 See: Edmund de S. Brunner, *et. al. An Overview of Adult Education Research*. (Washington, 1959).

7 A. T. Welford, *Fundamentals of Skill*. (London, 1968).

8 For example see: R. P. Kropp and Coolie Verner, "An Attitude Scale Technique for Evaluating Meetings." *Adult Education* 7:212-215, (Summer, 1957). Although developed as an experiment, this scale is still used extensively and nothing has yet replaced it.

(9) Organizing Adult Education Through the Universities

The university is not the only institutional environment for adult education but it has always had a primary role. Organizing the university to provide suitable education for adults demands a number of factors—attitudes, commitment, resources and experience. These factors are examined by a former university President, Senator Mackenzie and a University Director of Adult Education, D. McCormack Smyth relates the steps taken in one university to organize a college specially for adult students.

A Role for the New Universities

N. A. M. MACKENZIE (1965)

The establishment of a substantial number of new universities and colleges across Canada provides an interesting and useful opportunity to discuss and describe the role of adult education and of extension work within a university. The question that is frequently raised by academic purists and by hard-boiled business members of Boards of Governors is whether adult education and extension work has any place in any university. The Board of Governors naturally is concerned with the cost and with the question of whether this is the best or in fact the proper use of the limited funds available to universities of which they are the trustees.

The academic purists understandably feel that a university would do its best work and make its most important and significant contribution if it could concentrate on what they believe to be the essential and basic functions of a university. These essential and basic functions have to do in the main with significant scholarship, high level graduate work and important research, the examination of and the debate about ideas old and new, and with the pushing of the frontiers of knowledge and understanding farther out into the unknown. They will admit, these academic purists, that there is some place in a university for students, but only for high level and carefully screened and selected students, and the more of these that have reached the level of graduate work the happier some of the scientists and academic scholars are.

There is nothing wrong with this point of view; in fact there is much that can be said in its favour, but this approach to higher education and the role and the function of the university of today, in the North American context at least, is not the only approach, and in fact it tends to be an ideal for an age that is past and gone, if it ever existed.

I am something of a prejudiced witness because I believe in both extension work and adult education. I believe they have very great importance in our contemporary society, and I believe that our universities and colleges have both a responsibility and an opportunity in respect of them. This belief of mine grows out of my own philosophy, which is, that good education is good and essential for all human beings, provided it is suited to the temperament, the needs, and the abilities of the individuals concerned or involved. Further, I believe that the more education available to everyone the better the individual is likely to be, and the better the society which he creates and lives in.

Naturally, because of my own temperament again and my own experience, I believe in a proper division of labour and the most efficient uses of the monies that society can afford or will make available for education. But I am not unduly concerned about duplication; nor do I believe in a rigid pattern of educational organization. As far as extension work and adult education are concerned I believe that far from wasted effort and misspent funds, the more individuals, organizations, and institutions engaged in this the better for all concerned, though I do believe that the universities and colleges by their very nature, traditions, and the quality and calibre of the men and women who make them up are best qualified to give leadership in this field, and to provide the ideas and the new developments, as well as the testing of existing programs in every stage of it.

The question has been asked, what is a proper definition of adult education and of extension work? In many situations the two terms are used interchangeably and, save for purposes of convenience, I do not believe that a division or a distinction between them is very important. However, in a sense the terms can be used to cover extension work and the work of the university outside and beyond its own normal physical area and routine calendar curriculum, but will be limited to work that is essentially university work at a university level for which credit towards diplomas and degrees can be given. This extension work may take the form of extra classes for students, young or old, men or women, who have already attained a recognized matriculation standard and who are anxious to carry on with their more formal education beyond that level. The classes may be held on or off campus but usually outside the timetable of the professors and students giving regular courses to resident undergraduates and graduates.

These classes may be evening classes, weekend classes, summer school classes, or classes given or held in other areas beyond the site of the university or college itself. They may be organized and administered by the university extension department or they may be given by a faculty or a department directly interested in and competent to give the courses. But in all cases where credit towards degrees and diplomas is contemplated they must come under the control of the senate of the university or the similar body responsible for the awarding of degrees and diplomas and be subject to the supervision of deans, of heads of departments and, most particularly, of registrars; otherwise these courses and the credits given them are likely to be thought of as low level and less valuable and important than is true of credit given for regular work offered and taken in a university.

Adult education can be thought of and defined as something a little different from and frequently more general than extension work as I have just described it. While adult education is normally thought of and usually is concerned with those who are adults, this is neither important nor significant in my opinion. St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., provides perhaps the best, the most significant, and the most successful example and illustration of adult education in the Canadian experience. That little Highland Scottish, Roman Catholic institution was under the educated leadership of three or four men. Father Jimmy Tompkins, Dr. Coady, Dr. A. B. MacDonald, and others, impressed by the plight of the farmers, of the fishermen, and of the coalminers, in northeastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, decided to try and do something about this—believing in education and believing that education provided a solution to many of the problems of society if it could be wisely and intelligently organized. Part of the program had to do with co-operatives and with credit unions and with the understanding of the nature of the problems of their society. The results of this effort were almost miraculous, and the Antigonish Movement has won fame and acclaim across the world and is in some respects the most outstanding educational contribution that Canada has made to the world.

This is adult education at its best and in its adult senses, and it is an illustration of a university and of university staff members going beyond the usual boundaries of academic work and academic activity. There are dozens of other examples of this kind of adult education being carried on by universities and colleges all across Canada.

But all of this is in a sense history and philosophy. What of the question raised by the title of this article, that is, the new universities, their policy in respect of both adult education and extension work? My own view is that everyone of them should be greatly interested in the possibilities available to them in these important fields. From the purely selfish standpoint, the kind and the amount of support that a new university will get from its community and from the government supporting it will depend to a considerable extent upon the services it can render to citizens generally and to taxpayers in particular. This may not be a very idealistic approach to higher education, but it is realistic, and whether one likes it or not it is most essential in our North American and Canadian environment at least.

However, because of the numbers of new institutions springing up I do not believe that all of them should attempt to do everything for everybody, even in the fields of adult education and extension work. While the Lakehead University, being the only institution at present between Winnipeg and London, Ontario, can and should feel a sense of responsibility for the whole of that great area, the same can hardly by true of Brock in the Niagara Peninsula, of Trent in the Peterborough area, or of York on the outskirts of Toronto, but all of these and each of these should find its own area of special interest and service.

The question is also frequently asked, whether an extension department, where it exists, should be responsible for all extension activities and adult education within a university. This would provide a neat and tidy organization of work, but human beings, being what they are, do not always fit into any organization and do their best work there. Because of this a university should encourage all of these special activities to be channelled through the extension department or, at least, co-ordinated by it. The fact that a faculty or a department wants to and decides to go it alone should not be taken too seriously by an extension department and should not be prevented by university administrators, for after all, the thing we are all interested in is that the work should be done, that educational opportunity should be provided in the best way and to the widest possible group.

But coming back to the earlier question of the new university and extension work, in addition to the practical values of such activities, I feel that the new universities themselves should from the outset decide that extension work and adult education are basic and important parts of their program and responsibilities that they should accept. The details of these programs will develop in line with the ideas of the individuals interested and responsible and with the special circumstances of the institutions themselves, but they should be thought of as having a major role in the on-going life and work of the institution and staff and finances should be provided for this work at an early stage in the development of the institution.

As to the rank of the staff and the salary scale, I would like to think that while the qualifications of the staff are likely to be and should be rather specialized and should all, or at least the senior members, be outstanding and well-educated men and women, intellectually and in terms of their academic training and experience the equal of any of their academic colleagues. Granted this, their salaries should be the same as the academic staff and if privileges or prestige are attached to titles, then I see no reason why they should not be given these titles appropriate to their department and their work.

As for the financing of extension work, it should shape its own budget, of course, and its basic budget should be provided out of the regular revenues of the university or, in other words, it should share in the grants made by provincial and federal governments, but because fees are an important part of the revenues of every university an extension department should expect to provide a substantial proportion of its budget from fees. But where courses are given of a general kind for the information or pleasure or entertainment of the members of a class, there is no particular reason why these class members should not pay for the salaries of the lecturer and the other expenses of the course.

As for the staff and facilities, these will depend upon the type of work and extent of the work that a university, through its extension department, carries on. For reasons of economy and in order to be able to provide the very best instructors that may be available, an extension department should co-operate closely with all of the faculties and departments within the university, with a view to using appropriate members of the staffs of those faculties and departments in extension work. This is particularly necessary if academic credit for diplomas and degrees is to be given for the courses offered. It is equally true of general lectures to the public and of radio and television programs that may be given. Here again, if the audience warrants it and the teaching and research staffs are competent in this kind of teaching method, then the very best of the university staff should be used. This is not only because the university owes it to those who take the courses and to those who listen but in addition the public image of the extension department and the quality and character of its work will be formed and accepted very largely on the basis of these kinds of relationships of the staff with the public.

However, a good extension department will want to and should do much more than this. It should provide special programs in a wide variety of fields which will not result in or carry with them academic credits. These may be in agriculture, or in commerce, in music, in education, or in the techniques of organizing group discussions, and in the use of films, of slides, of recordings, and of the many new and exciting devices available to the educator today. The extension department should also have either the direct responsibility or a general interest in refresher courses that should be offered to men and women in the professions, medicine, dentistry, law, engineering, technology; all of the many areas in which new knowledge and new skills are available, but may be overlooked or by-passed in the midst of a busy professional practice.

A good extension department will also concern itself with the organization of conferences, of seminars, of symposia, of summer schools for academic credits, and summer schools in the fine arts, and in public affairs, for the benefit of those who wish an intellectual or artistic form of recreation or who wish to broaden and expand their own experience, their own understanding, and their own horizons in these fields.

I said earlier that there is and should be a place for a division of labour in this as in other fields, and obviously the school systems in our cities and towns and the departments of education of our provincial governments and the other departments of governments, both provincial and federal, in agriculture, in fisheries, and in many other fields, will want to and will engage in some of this adult education and extension work. Those in industry and in the professions will want to carry on their own programs. All of this should be encouraged, and with all of these groups and organizations the university can, if it is fortunate enough to have men and women of intelligence and with vision, give leadership and can achieve the largest measure of effective co-operation between and among all of these bodies.

What I have written suggests the staff of an extension department should and will include a variety of individuals with a variety of skills and abilities and interests at a variety of levels of education. Most important in this respect is the director and his senior colleagues who will carry the responsibility in both the quality and variety and who must have imagination and energy to develop appropriate programs of high quality and find a support necessary for this.

Coming back to my original question or interest, if I were president of one of the new colleges or universities in Canada I would provide for an extension department which would carry on both extension work and adult education in the terms I have described in the paragraphs above. I would appoint a head and a director or a dean of this department at an early stage in the organization and development of the university in consultation with him and with other appropriate staff members and individuals. I would consider the special circumstances of the new institution, its physical location, the community or communities, urban, industrial and rural, which it should serve within its own physical area of operations. I would consider the work in these fields being done by other neighbouring institutions and by other groups and organizations within the new university's overall community. I and the director would arrange to discuss with the appropriate officials of these the nature of the work to be done and the services to be rendered and the appropriate areas of responsibility. I would encourage the director and his colleagues when appointed to explore the possibilities of new methods of activity and service. I would provide the department from the outset with an adequate budget for its basic needs and with proper facilities to house the staff and equipment and to provide, too, for some of the special programs. I would plan at the outset to use facilities in common with other departments and faculties and try and stagger the programs so that these facilities can be available for the various needs of the university community.

In time, however, as the work of the university and of the extension department developed I would consider and support the establishment of a special centre for extension and continuing education which might include lecture rooms, studios, an auditorium, too, and film libraries, record libraries, certain specialist libraries with books and I might in due course even include residential accommodation which, with the other facilities described, would facilitate the holding of conferences and seminars throughout the year, as well as during the summer months when the university might not be in session. In the years ahead, because of the pressure of numbers upon universities, it seems inevitable that the universities will be forced to abandon their present calendar arrangements and carry on their normal work for credit throughout most, if not all, of the calendar year.

The Need for an Organizing Strategy

LEO A. DORAIS, (1967)

Changes in the environment

It seems to me that we all know—but have not really realized—what the trends to urban living will be in the 1980's. Canada will number 79 per cent urban dwellers and only 9 per cent rural farm, the other 12 per cent being in smaller cities. This is an incredible trend which has been going on in Canada in the last decades, but one to which we have not really adapted. Because these trends to urban living also indicate other trends such as that of having more productive age groups in the cities. The rural environment retains the older age groups and the very young.

Another fact to be taken into consideration is that of the presence of more young females in urban, contrasted to rural, environment. This trend to urban living is irreversible (and it is almost at present a cold fact). It is important, more so because it is linked with another phenomenon: that of living our urban life in a very different physical environment.

We are now involved in all-inclusive environments for urban living. The original *Habitat 67* concept which seemed from various points of view either a stroke of genius or a mess of concrete has created realities that exist in most of our big cities. To speak of one example, there exist now in Montreal whole complexes involving apartments, offices, stores, with direct access to the Metro, which enable one to live in the west-end of town and without even owning an overcoat to be able to go work at Place Ville-Marie or Place Victoria or some other of the larger office buildings.

This trend to all-inclusive environments also increases the time of leisure to be enjoyed at home—instead of driving for hours to get to one's cottage. All of these new apartments include, of course, a swimming pool, a sauna bath, often a leisure and hobby shop, reception rooms and so on.

I wonder why should not Extensions be sponsors of study rooms in housing projects with direct access to the University campus made available through existing or to-be-created cable-television channels presently available in our cities. These study rooms in such apartment complexes could enable us to experiment with television—open or closed circuits—radio programs linked with correspondence courses of all sorts that are already partly available.

These changes are not isolated ones in the physical environment. City planning has moved from the hub theory to the suburban back-to-the-city centers. It so happens that the people who moved to the suburban areas were the better-educated, those who had semi-professional or highly technical skills or who were themselves professionals. They are still left in the suburbs because they have young children. The city center apartments have not yet caught up with accommodations for people with families. What are we as Extension people going to do about the mass of educated citizens in the suburbs? Do we provide them with the same type of facilities that we are thinking of for those who are coming back to the city center environment? Here possibly is a major challenge that University Extensions will have to face in the next decade. If we adjust as poorly now as we have in the past, the suburbs will have become part of "renewal programs" before we are ready to do anything.

It seems to me that planning of new forms of instruction are in the making, whereby a 45-hour course would involve only 15 hours of direct instruction, the remainder being individual work with various sorts of aids. This means that the students will come on campus less often or, at least, spend less time travelling than they did in the past.

Our interests in Education will be anchored to a new set of concepts and realities. I am thinking here of social animation, of group discussions, of closed-circuit seminars from various points in the area—all ways and methods of reaching students without having students come to the campus.

Finally, it seems to me that we have also to prepare candidates for such positions as "Extension electronic courses officers" or "Extension social animators" or "Extension micro-wave coordinators" or "Extension programmed instruction coordinators" all utilizations of the new techniques in the work of Extensions.

Not only as our environment changes, will our methods of reaching students have to change but the content and scope of Extension work will also have to be adapted.

1. CERTAIN CONTENT MAY DISAPPEAR

Broadly speaking, the trend for non-credit courses will be on a downward sloping curve while the credit courses should be on the upward trend until the 1980's. By the 1980's, the reverse trend will be observed. The bulk of up-grading through Adult Education for formal degrees should have served its purpose; the transition phase should be over; the effects of automation on the work-week should begin to be felt; therefore enrichment programs for adults should be the significant need.

The non-credit courses will show a downward sloping curve because there will be more and more demands by organized groups, whether they be semi-professional groups or economic pressure groups, for their members to attain university education and obtain degrees. In this regard, school teachers are the first. But, at the same time, the professionals themselves—university graduates of the past years, physicians, pharmacists, physicists and so on—will require more and more short-term refresher courses. The professions realize that the changes in science and technology do not enable prolonged practice of a profession without refresher courses on technical or even some very basic theoretical aspects. These would lead to five-year certificates of practice for a given profession.

This downward slope of non-credit courses will be accentuated by the fact that each university will have to plan for a continuing education residential centre. I am thinking here that most of our university residences are inadequate for Adult Education courses, simply because they were not meant for adults. They are not planned for informal exchanges after the day's work, with lounges where people can enjoy a beer and keep on discussing the day's content. This very dynamic pattern of planning will have to model itself on something very different than I have seen in the Foundation-sponsored U.S. Centres, but rather on functional arrangements for informal meetings.

This trend should be reversed by the 1980's because then the 40,000 hours of work in a life-time will command more leisure time to be invested in enrichment programs. These programs will have to utilize the available technology of the time and new course contents will have to be formulated. This is the earliest possible time for the Liberal Arts enrichment programs to really take hold of a new generation. The new content yet to be formulated will have to deal with the social issues of the day and their interpretation—with the notion of citizenship and participation in public affairs at the regional level, the preparation of administrators and members of regional governments now taking over the old municipal governments. Programs on civilization, coupled with the learning of foreign languages (languages other than English and French).

2. EXTENSION SHOULD SEE NEW ROLES APPEAR

a) Role of Extension in experimental methods

We remember that Extension Departments have been *avant-garde* in the use of audio-visual or programmed instruction methods, even when the University was concerned only with traditional methods of teaching. They now have a lead they should not lose.

They must also assume a new role, that of attempting to humanize and motivate students who face mechanical aids of all sorts used by Extension and University alike. University Extension will have to experiment with open-circuit television or radio coupled with correspondence, intensive Summer sessions, short-term week-end sessions and other means of reaching its audience. This experimentation with methods, including the residential method, will provide new thinking for Universities in the next decade.

b) *Role of catalyst in University for interdisciplinary program*

Extension departments have initiated in the past decade activities in the field of communications. Most universities did not have—and some do not even now have—a good program in social communications. There are, of course, schools of journalism, schools of social sciences, computer sciences, and so on. But there is no program in which a student can coordinate these arts or sciences in the field of communication. University Extension can see one of its major roles as that of initiating activities in the field of communications. According to the local situation, and the existing human resources on each campus, operation research computer technology, as applied to education, journalism, the mass media and programs of that nature, is of top priority. In the very near future, if Extension is to take its emerging role seriously—a catalyst within the University—new programs have to be formulated. Here, we may think of drawing together people who have not thus far been in contact—e.g. Archeology, Architecture and City Planning for municipal administrators.

c) *Important role as research centre*

The emergence of the new role in the transformation of methods of which I have talked earlier, is not possible without systematic research on the needs of the population, of methods used by Extension and of the results obtained by these various methods. This research role is needed not only for the day-to-day rational operation of Extension, but also to develop the methodology. Although I have the greatest respect for all that has been written on the learning process of adults, we are overlooking a major source of data and a wealth of experience if each University Extension is not part of this research function. Its research role is that of trying to find answers to most of the questions that we are asking ourselves about how adults learn. These roles, as I see them, will also provide a by-product: the demonstration that Extension is really part of what the University is all about—not only teaching, not only research, but both, for the best service of the community.

Financing and structuring of Extensions

The major practical problem is that of financing the operations of Extension. We need, first of all, to conceive of Extension as something else than a milk-cow for the university treasuries. It is impossible to have the involvement mentioned in research, experimentation in methods, emerging roles and so on, without new methods of financing Extension operations. By the 1980's universities should all be able to present five-year budgetary projections for annual approval. If we do not take an active part in preparing five-year plans of projected needs, Extension will again be treated as a poor relative in the family. Extension should now plan for five-year budgetary projections so that they will be ready when the universities themselves are ready to accept the idea.

By the 1980's universities should also realize that Extension is an essential part of its role in society. Hence its financing should be assured by the same set of principles that govern regular day-time programs.

All credit courses should be fully supported by the university as is done in other Departments or Faculties, including a proportion of indirect costs. The Extension Department will have to plan for more and more credit courses rather than non-credit courses.

All non-credit courses should be, I think, self-supporting—except for what I would call a "line of credit" given by the university to the Extension Department for experimental courses, for attempts at evaluating methods and doing such *avant-garde* research projects as it can think of. The level of this line of credit should be significant, in the larger departments—possibly $50,000 to $75,000 a year.

Structuring Extension

By the 1970's all Extension should be an integral and assimilated part of universities, although identifiable. Extension has had to struggle for survival and what they want at this time is to become contributing members of the university community.

Extensions should have organizational links with academic decision-making bodies—for example, the Director of Extension, ex-officio, should be a member of the Senate of the University, of the Committee of Studies and of some of the joint committees that exist among the Faculties and the Administration. Then, at the cost of his time and energies, the Director of Extension will be accepted as a full member of the university community.

Extension, inasmuch as their role involves significant contribution to teaching methods and experimental programs, should also have a directorate situated high in the academic organization, at least the next level above a Dean. Extension departments have too often been placed in a staff position rather than a line position.

Extension should have, as do Faculties or Departments, a committee or council composed of representatives from different areas of the University, and be less and less a "one-man show". This council or committee will again provide a channel through which university preoccupations can be directed to Extension and the preoccupations of Extension's thinking and evolution be transmitted to the main body of the university.

Extension credit programs should enable Extension to innovate in content and method. At the same time these programs should be accepted and recognized as fully equivalent to day or full-time programs. This is possibly the most delicate task that faces us in the next decade. We must provide services to the population at the level of the population and, at the same time, be able to reassure the university that such work is of university level.

Extension should also develop a strategy by virtue of which *Extension* Certificates and Diplomas are replaced by *University* Certificates, Diplomas and Degrees. This involves the loss of some of its autonomy, but at the same time it gains by integration into the main stream of the university.

Conclusion

I have so far carefully avoided talking about my own university. It seems to me worthwhile to mention that the Senate of l'Université de Montréal has approved a set of principles to restructure Extension at the Université to a Service d'éducation permanente. These principles are worth mentioning briefly as the conclusion of this paper.

It involves the affirmation of the University's role in Adult Education. It recognizes a special mission in Adult Education as in regular day-time programs. The creation of a unit for Adult Education above Faculties and Departments which enables this unit to coordinate all activities concerned with adult learning is another guiding principle. Adult Education can prepare and present first-degree candidates to the University authorities for university degrees and certificates. The Senate has approved the development of special conditions of admission for adults to the University. This implies that, after an achievement test which takes into account experience and prior studies, an adult candidate can be admitted to the University even though he may not have the normal schooling requirements. Finally, but not the least, the Senate has approved the creation of a research unit within the Service d'éducation permanente.

Establishing a University College for Adults

Atkinson College, York University

D. McCORMACK SMYTH (1968)

Improved realization throughout the world in recent years that education, in the sense that it is the process whereby experience and knowledge may be understood and may facilitate human development, should continue throughout a person's life, has made it increasingly obvious that formal education must not be confined almost exclusively to the first two decades of human life. As a result many institutions for continuing education are being established. This is a preliminary report on the establishment of Atkinson College of York University, as a specialized college for mature students.

In 1955, at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, it was reported that enrolment in Canadian universities would increase from 64,000 in 1954-55 to nearly 90,000 in 1959-60 and to 130,000 in 1964-65.

In addition to this statistical information, there was increasing awareness in Ontario and in Metropolitan Toronto in particular, that a larger proportion of citizens would have to be educated to higher levels. It was known that through changes in productive processes resulting from the application of cybernation and the use of increasingly sophisticated technological systems, various forms of traditional work were disappearing. If large centres of population in Canada such as Metropolitan Toronto were to continue to progress economically substantial expansion of higher education including university adult education would have to be achieved.

The Board of Governors of York University decided by the early autumn of 1960 that the development of the new university would involve three major academic undertakings—a multi-faculty university on a large campus, a distinctive university college for adult students and a special residential college.

In November, 1960, a submission was made to the Atkinson Charitable Foundation of Toronto requesting support of the foundation for the establishment of an evening college in which there would be an especially prepared program of study, no less rigorous in its discipline and demands than the day program of the new university but specifically related to the interests and capacities of the adult. It was noted in the submission that evening students whose sacrifice to continue "their education is considerable and whose potential is often very great, deserve every possible opportunity for development".

In the submission to the Foundation it was proposed that the curriculum of the College should be based on the 'general education' philosophy of York University. It was envisaged, however, that after the establishment of general education courses, programs in specific disciplines and in certain professional fields should be offered.

It was agreed also that the College should have its own building. The most strategic proposal was that the college should have a number of full-time faculty members. It was assumed that in addition of course, some teaching in the College would be done by members of the other faculties in the university and by a limited number of qualified persons from the public community serving the College part-time.

The Atkinson Charitable Foundation approved the proposal and granted $782,000 to assist in the establishment and development of the College. This was the largest grant made to that time by the Foundation which had been established in 1942 by Joseph E. Atkinson. Despite the interruption of his schooling at the age of 14, Mr. Atkinson had continued his own self-education and become a highly successful journalist and publisher. Mr. Atkinson determined that the wealth which had come to him through the profits gained in his business enterprises should be returned to the citizens of Ontario. For this general purpose he established the Atkinson Charitable Foundation. On the one hundreth anniversary of Mr. Atkinson's birth the Foundation made a further grant of $800,000 to York University for the construction of facilities for the College.

It was known when the College was established that whereas students who come directly to college and university studies on the completion of programs of secondary education have little life experience in terms of involvement in the ongoing affairs of social life, adult students, who already have become self-supporting, have different qualities and different needs. While the basic needs of both groups are basically the same, in terms of the need to develop and refine intellectual ability, still it was appreciated that the orientation and particular needs of both groups are different. This difference in particular needs was a basic reason for deciding that a separate college for adults should be established and that distinctive programs in keeping with the needs of adults should be developed.

It was known that many adults who have the ability to undertake college or university level studies do not complete formal secondary school programs. Thus it was decided that students not holding graduation diplomas from secondary school should be given the opportunity to take special reading ability and learning comprehension tests. Adequate performance on these tests would be accepted as meeting the requirements for admission to the College.

In establishing Atkinson College, York University sought not only to increase educational opportunities at the university level for a larger number of people. The aim of the University was to offer through the College quality programs of university adult education.

It was hoped, through such programs, to help individuals develop their intellectual abilities to higher levels, than would otherwise be possible. In addition it was hoped that the programs offered for adult students studying part-time in the University would enable them to improve their abilities to continue learning throughout their lives. In addition to these overall idealistic aspirations it was recognized that the College should seek to provide programs of study which would help individuals, as a result of their studies in the College, to engage more thoughtfully in various types of specialized employment requiring those analytical and conceptual skills which in many cases are developed and stimulated to best advantage through study in a college or university.

Beyond these fundamental educational purposes there was in the minds of some of those involved in the development of Atkinson College the hope that the College would be concerned not only with educating people to higher levels through the development of analytical, conceptual and professional skills. It was hoped that the programs of study in the College would give members of the College a deeper appreciation of the need to share intellectual and social privileges and it was felt by some that the College, through its individual members and groups of members had a responsibility not only to be concerned with disciplined learning and the support and encouragement of scholarly investigation, but also to aid again through its individual members in the advancement of social concern and the implementation of more thoughtful social policies.

Government and Organization of the College

An academic Council consisting of all teaching members of the college, the College officers and certain other persons is concerned with academic matters. Some years after its establishment as a committee of the Senate of the University, it was proposed that the student members of the college should elect a certain number of their members to serve on the academic Council of the College. This proposal was approved by the Senate of the University. Since implementation of the decision some years ago, student members of the college have made significant contributions to the work of the Council and its committees.

The Dean of the College is responsible to the President for the administration of the college. In addition to his administrative responsibilities, the Dean has served as the Chairman of the academic Council of the College. One of his major responsibilities in this connection is to implement academic legislation recommended by the Council of the College, and approved by the Senate of the University. Likewise in financial and administrative areas, the Dean is responsible for the implementation of financial and administrative policy approved by the President and the Board of Governors of the University.

In the early years of the development of the college, proposals for the appointment of individuals to the faculty of the college were discussed with the appropriate deans of other faculties of the University. During the first three academic sessions courses were conducted in the College by members of the full-time staff of the Faculty of Arts and Science of the University. They were assisted by a number of qualified persons from the public community who taught part-time in the University. As already indicated, however, it had been appreciated from the outset that the extent of the responsibilities to be assumed by the college was such that specialized attention to teaching would be required if the college program was to become truly effective. Experience in other universities indicated that special programs of degree studies for adults engaged part-time in university work could only be developed on a basis of high quality, if a separate full-time teaching faculty were appointed for the College. The experience of Birkbeck College, University of London, was particularly helpful in this connection. Thus in preparation for the academic session in 1965-66, ten scholars took up full-time teaching appointments in the College. This number has increased steadily. In addition, a substantial number of members of other faculties of the University participate in the work of the college along with other qualified persons from the public community teaching on a part-time basis.

With the appointment of a full-time faculty arrangements were made for the establishment of the academic organization of the college. Four academic divisions or schools were established with responsibilities respectively for the humanities, natural science, professional studies, and social sciences. Each academic division of the college is responsible for the conduct of courses in specific disciplines as well as in the broader general education areas of humanities, natural science, and social science. Each division is served by a director who is responsible for the coordination of the academic and administrative work of the division.

Academic Arrangements

Early in the development of Atkinson College, it was decided that only university level degree courses would be offered through the college. Emphasis in these programs, as already indicated was to be on quality. The first over-all curriculum planned for the college provided that students would be required at the outset to complete courses in English and Mathematics as well as a sequence of comprehensive courses in Humanities, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences. It was planned to offer later, courses involving study of various aspects of non-western culture, major social and human problems such as international organization, metropolitan government, the modern corporation, and other inter-disciplinary courses.

On successful completion of their studies students qualify for bachelor of arts degrees or bachelor of arts degrees with honours or bachelor of arts (administration) with honours.

Students proceeding to honours degrees are required to complete twenty courses. Those proceeding to ordinary degrees are required to complete the study of fifteen courses. Courses in the college are offered mainly during the evening, since the great majority of student members of the College work during the daytime. During the summer term courses are offered both during the day and during the evening. In order to complete a course of study a student normally attends lectures and/or participates in seminars three hours each week during the Autumn-Winter session, a period of up to 24 weeks. During the Summer, evening session students are expected to attend lectures or participate in seminars during three hours on each of two evenings each week. At the end of each course there is normally a formal written examination or other means of evaluating the work of students.

In order to qualify for a degree as a result of completing a program of courses in the college, student members must maintain certain levels of academic standing.

Student Members of the College

The quality of any institution of learning is determined mainly by the abilities, attitudes and work of its faculty and student members.

In the session 1962-63, the first in which the College offered courses, approximately 280 students were enrolled. This was to increase to 6,000. To meet the educational needs of its members and to provide opportunities for balanced and integrated programs of learning of high standard the college has each year increased the number of courses offered. Courses offered have increased from three in 1962-63 to nearly 250.

In the session 1963-64, student members of the college organized the Atkinson College Student Association. The purpose of this Association was to provide a further means whereby the community life of the college and the involvement of student members in its affairs might be developed further and made more meaningful. The College Association continues to contribute to the life of the college in a variety of significant ways.

It is clear that if the College is to continue to develop as a community of learning, efforts must be made to ensure that the decision-making processes operate in accordance with the felt needs of those who are subject to the decisions. In the college, therefore, efforts continue to be made to strengthen the community life of the college as it is reflected in study, teaching, administration and the sharing of responsibility for the affairs of the college.

Universities and colleges in the contemporary world have unique opportunities to contribute to freedom through organization. Through their thoughtful participation in the work of the College Council and its committees student members of the College are assisting the College in its efforts to extend the range of human freedom through the thoughtful organization and conduct of its affairs, as a centre of learning. It has been for reasons such as this that emphasis has been placed in Atkinson College on the drawing of all members of the college as far as possible through representative systems into the decision-making process of the College.

Observations on the need for colleges for adults

Atkinson College of York University came into being as a result of the foresight of the officers and supporters of the University. Its establishment and development during the last eight years has made it possible for a large number of persons who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to proceed to advanced studies. The success attained by the programs offered through the college gives evidence of the potential for the development of other colleges of continuing education in the Western World.

While the establishment of colleges and universities has become a widespread activity throughout the Western World, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century, the founding and development of colleges for adult students, such as Atkinson College, is a rare phenomenon. This rareness is one of the tragic paradoxes of our time.

If, in the future, appropriate decisions are to be made by those responsible for policy making in various sectors of community life, it is obvious that opportunities for continuing education at advanced levels will have to be increased. Before individuals or groups of individuals in any organization can participate effectively or continue significantly to the making of appropriate decisions, more adequate bases for thoughtful reflection and decisive action must be established. This is particularly true in the technopolitan civilization based as it is, on increasingly sophisticated technology and systems of mass communications.

In such a world, institutions may become increasingly 'technicalized' whereas they should be more effectively rationalized and humanized. Only through improved programs of continuing education will it be possible for advancing technology to be used more effectively for the rationalization and humanization of life.

Even in institutions of learning themselves, such as Atkinson College, it is essential that steps be taken to offset the organizational weaknesses which are the inevitable result of rapid expansion and growth in complexity. In a University college for adults it is essential that particular attention be given not only to organizational systems and methods but above all to the arrangements for learning and for teaching.

In the contemporary world it is increasingly recognized that the lasting source of power in human life is continuing thought based on adequate knowledge. The preparation of the mind and the spirit for the disciplined use of such power is one of the most important undertakings in which a person may engage. Since the power to use one's intellectual and imaginative abilities creatively tends to decrease through lack of attention to that power, and since the creative use of power is of such strategic importance in human affairs, it appears that the establishment and development of university colleges for adults is one of the strategic educational necessities of the world in which we live. Such institutions dedicated to providing appropriate programs of learning for individuals wishing to renew their abilities and to renew the social institutions of which they are members, may also be one of the great hopes of the future.

If these observations regarding the needs and potential hopes of modern man are correct, systems of higher education will have to be reorganized. So too will patterns of investment in higher education. Without widespread higher education liberal democracy cannot be politically successful. In turn higher education cannot contribute effectively to the success of liberal democracy unless it is organized and conducted in ways which are appropriate to the needs of modern man. If modern man is to have more than the mere technical and professional capability to use knowledge available for human purposes, (continuing education must be given that relates to the quality and concerns of the adult mind.)

(10) Organizing a New System of Education: The Community Colleges

Few if any developments in the 1960's in Canada are of more potential significance than the arrival of the community colleges. Here one of the creators of the colleges, the then Ontario Minister of Education, W. G. Davis outlines the philosophy and organizational principles of the colleges of applied arts and technology. Gordon Campbell, President of one of the earliest colleges describes their growth and organizational form.

Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario

WILLIAM G. DAVIS (1966)

It is really quite encouraging to those of us who have some responsibility in the field of education to find the great interest that is formulating amongst the public as far as post-secondary experience is concerned. It is only a year ago that the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario became a legislative reality. They had been discussed in one form or another for perhaps two or three years, but it was really just a year ago this coming month that the legislative framework was passed by Parliament. Since that time the Council of Regents for the colleges has been appointed and has made some very substantial progress in developing plans for these new institutions. In March of this year I was able to announce the formation of 18 college areas throughout the Province. For the benefit of those from outside Ontario it may be well to outline what was done. The Council of Regents adopted the ten economic, or perhaps development, regions created by the Department of Economics and Development of this Province and took these ten regions as the basis for the establishment of the college areas. It was obvious that some of the economic regions would support more than one of these institutions. The Central Ontario economic region, for instance, will have, we estimate, five of these colleges because this region includes the Metropolitan Toronto area and perhaps 30% of the population of the Province.

The next step of course was the appointment of Boards of Governors and these have already been named for some four of the college areas.

We anticipate that four more Boards of Governors will be appointed within the next few days. I should point out to you that under the legislation these Boards have really very wide powers. They actually have the power to move in to develop, and construct the college facilities themselves so that, in a very real sense, they have the power to run the particular institution.

During the past developmental year, as we describe it here, our plans have firmed to a very substantial degree and we think they have crystallized into a new and exciting concept. This is due, I believe, to the particular circumstances surrounding the establishment of these colleges within our Province. We have admittedly learned a good deal from our neighbours to the south, from other provinces of Canada as well as many of the countries of Western Europe. However, few of these share our fundamental purpose, and fewer still are true "community colleges" as we construe the term in Ontario. This is a very interesting term that has grown up south of the border, but we question whether it really is a proper one to be used here as we understand the institution in our Province. Our colleges, and I emphasize this, are in no way meant to be junior universities. They are rather institutions of continuing education at the post-secondary school level for those students who are not able or who do not wish to pursue work of the traditional university type. The concept is to provide a total comprehensive program, variable as to length of course, and completely flexible in providing the needs of the young person graduating from the school system and the adult who is seeking further education and training for vocational or avocational reasons.

I should emphasize at this point, in trying to relate our development here to the other provinces in Canada, that we have embarked in Ontario, (I think this is a fair statement) on a more comprehensive technical and vocational program in our secondary schools than have perhaps our sister provinces across Canada. At the latest count, something close to 50 per cent of our secondary school population was in what we describe as the business, commercial, technical, or vocational streams within the secondary school program. This should be made clear so that those of you from provinces where the secondary program is, perhaps, still primarily academic can understand what we are doing with our so-called community college program. You must understand that close to 50 per cent of the youngsters within our secondary system are already having exposure to the technical, vocational, commercial or business facets of education. This must be taken into consideration when you are attempting to assess the development of our college situation within the Province of Ontario.

But I want to emphasize that in the legislation that was drafted we have not overlooked the possible need for university programs in some areas of the Province and the amendment to the Education Act includes the following clause which I think is unique on this Continent. At least it certainly does not exist in many of the jurisdictions we have studied south of the border. This part of the legislation says specifically: "Subject to the approval of the Minister, a Board of Governors of the college may enter into an agreement with the University for the establishment, maintenance and conduct by the University in the college of programs of instruction leading to degrees, certificates, or diplomas awarded by the University." This makes it very clear that if a transfer or parallel course program is built into one of the colleges in a certain geographic region this will be done in affiliation with an existing Ontario university.

Some of you may ask why this is necessary. I think if you look at some of the difficulties they are experiencing in the neighbouring jurisdictions to the south you will have the answers. A substantial number of students in the so-called junior college program, perhaps have the qualifications for transfer to the third year of a regular university program, but there is no formal or recognized manner of doing so in some jurisdictions. We hope we have guarded against that here in Ontario by having the programs actually in affiliation with an existing Ontario university. We thereby ensure that the quality of the program will be exactly the same as given in the parent institution and, of course, we feel this will enable the students to be recognized not only by the affiliating institution but by the other Ontario universities as well. But I want to emphasize that this is being built in. It will have immediate application in perhaps one or two regions of the Province. But I want to make one thing abundantly clear. If these colleges are properly to fulfil their community function, if they are to operate in a unique role, and if, indeed, they are to achieve the status of which they are worthy they must establish themselves not on a reputation as university extensions but on their own function. The image must be one of a college that is supplying a well established need, both academic and vocational within the Province.

That such a need exists there can be no question. As early as 1964, the Report of the Grade 13 Study Committee summarized it in the following manner: "The truth of the matter is that we are now in an entirely different world from that in the 1920's and 1930's, and it is necessary that we extend our educational system to meet the demands of this new world. In the past when we have faced this sort of crisis, we have solved the problem by expanding the secondary school program—in 1871, for example, when we added general education for the many to special education for the few, or the 1920's when technical training was introduced in a considerable number of high schools. In the present crisis, the need cannot be met simply by alterations or additions at secondary school level, this time we must turn our attention to the post-secondary level, where we must create a new kind of institution that will provide in the interests of students for whom a university course is unsuitable, a type of training which universities are not designed to offer. Fortunately, a beginning has been made in the establishment of institutes of technology and vocational centres, but as yet they are too few in number and their offerings are too narrow in range to satisfy what is required both by the nature of our developing economy and the talents of our young people. The committee is therefore recommending the establishment of *community colleges to provide these new and alternative programs.*"

It is the factors peculiar to our Province that account for the differences between our concept of the "community college" and that which has informed the colleges within the large part of the United States and in other provinces in Canada.

I would like just for a moment, to look at some of these factors in some detail. Firstly, unlike some of our sister provinces, Ontario is now almost totally industrialized. Fewer than 8 per cent of our population is engaged in agriculture or in occupations associated with agriculture, thus there is arising in our own Province, to a degree felt nowhere else in Canada, an overwhelming demand for vocational training and re-training at all levels. This demand is the result of the rapid advances of science and technology in an area in which the so-called population explosion has made the situation exceedingly acute, if not down-right dangerous. The problem must be solved if we are to maintain our present rate of productivity or more desirably to increase this rate. But the problem goes deeper than this. As the Economic Council of Canada, under the chairmanship of Dr. John Deutsch has repeatedly pointed out, we must take every possible means of expanding our economic growth if we are to provide employment for our increasing population and if we are to maintain our position in the field of international trade. "Our concern relates to the role of education in the growth of the national economy," says Dr. Deutsch. "The economic importance of education has already been stressed in our First Annual Review, especially in our discussion of the vital need for creating and maintaining an adequate supply of professional, technical, managerial and other highly skilled manpower as a basis for future growth of the Canadian economy. We also placed increased investment in human resources to improve knowledge and skills at the head of our list of essential ingredients for attaining the goal of faster and better sustained productivity growth." In this statement Dr. Deutsch, as I told him not so many weeks ago, successfully placed most of the problems facing the developing economy of this Province and this country at the doorstep of education. I said this imposed quite a large load on educators and that we would do our best to respond. But I think it is very encouraging for those of you who are devoting your time and effort to education to realize that there is a very direct relationship between what we are attempting to do within the field of education and the economic, and just as importantly, the social development of this Province and of course of this nation.

It can be shown statistically that, with present plans for university expansion, there will be no shortage of places in the Ontario universities for some time to come. It was rather interesting, that this past academic year we had actually a slight surplus of student places at universities developing here in this Province. We have some 15 or 16 provincially-assisted universities, and some four or five relatively new institutions in the process of development and growth. These new universities, we feel, will perhaps make it unnecessary, for a period of time at least, to offer the so-called parallel program in some parts of this Province. The present planning for university development will enable about 20 per cent of the age group 19-24, to find a place in an Ontario university by roughly 1970-71.

But even if this is achieved, I think it is quite obvious that there will be a substantial percentage of young people, not only in our Province but I would suggest in the other provinces across Canada, who will need some further type of post-secondary experience and this is really the concept that has been developed here in Ontario. It is an acknowledgment really that, as our society develops, as technology increases, it is becoming increasingly obvious that a much higher percentage of young people and adults will need this type, or some type, of post-secondary experience if they are to move into the world of business, industry and commerce. I know that in our own visits and studies in the State of California, discussing primarily with the industrial leaders and the personnel officers, the thing we found very intriguing was that business and industry in that State today are requiring of a high percentage of their employees a minimum of the two-year junior or community college program. I do not say we have reached this position in the Province of Ontario, but I think it is quite obvious that we should be making our plans so that we are in a position to accommodate the increasing demands for education by the post-secondary student and adult population as well.

Another factor that should be pointed out, is the unparalleled growth of the provincial institutes of technology, and of the trades institutes and vocational centres. And I think that this should be mentioned as further substantiation of our claim that the new colleges will find a great need. These institutes have been forced out of their original pattern into hybrid organizations offering a wide choice of courses and they are now, in many respects, fledgling colleges of applied arts and technology themselves.

We like to believe that our actions, in response to these unique circumstances, have been as positive as the philosophy which informs them and that they are resulting in a system of colleges, whose aim is to educate in the full sense of the word rather than merely to "train". We are convinced that unless education is firmly grounded in cultural as well as vocational subjects, not only the student, but also industry is being sadly short-changed. To concentrate, at any level, on manual expertise, to the detriment of the thinking process, is a retrograde action that commits us to nothing more than a redundant retraining program which is surely not in keeping with the college concept. Our planning for the colleges, therefore, has taken cognizance of both our academic and vocational needs.

It would be difficult, and I want to make this very clear, to predict exactly what our colleges will be like five or ten years hence. It is our sincere hope that they will grow and that they will be flexible institutions that will develop along with our needs. But, if one could generalize, we would foresee our colleges functioning in four main areas and organized around four key centres.

Firstly, a technological centre which will continue to offer three-year courses in engineering technology in the major branches of engineering and in industrial management with a limited number of three-year courses to be added as the need arises.

Secondly, a technical and skilled trades centre which will fulfil the dual function of providing an increasing number of two-year technician level courses as well as providing the "sandwich" courses, as we describe them here, for the Department of Labour apprentices. It should perhaps be mentioned in passing that the demand for technician training based on a two-year course subsequent to grade 12 graduation is the most rapidly expanding area in our post-secondary system today. We are working constantly with industrial and professional groups in developing new courses across an ever-broadening field.

Thirdly, a business centre which will absorb the three-year course in business administration now given at the institute of technology and the one-year courses now offered at the vocational centres. To this will be added an increased number of two-year courses in such fields as computer programming, institutional management for the hotel, restaurant and tourist industry, and marketing and sales—and you could go on almost indefinitely.

Fourthly, a general and applied arts centre which would also play a dual role. This centre will supply much of the cultural enrichment and the related academic subjects for the other three centres. It will also offer courses of a general educational nature which will be a combination of liberal studies and related occupational subjects. Such courses as journalism, social case work, child care and public recreation will fall within this general area. It is anticipated that these courses will have a special appeal for the four-year graduate who is not technically inclined.

To describe these formal aspects of the college program is to seriously reduce the total concept, for unless these new institutions can direct their teaching staff and facilities to the needs of the total population, they will have fallen far short of the planned goal. We anticipate that most of the so-called "bread and butter" programs will be available to both day and evening classes so that employed people may readily profit from the courses offered. In addition, we plan that these colleges, which have been based on the economic development regions of Ontario as I stated, will play a significant role in the provision of courses for the up-grading and up-dating of the adult population. They must also play a significant role in the provision of all types of courses which may appeal to the interests of a population with an increasing amount of leisure time.

The community college in Canada

GORDON CAMPBELL (1969)

Canada is in the midst of a spectacular expansion in its post-high school institutions of higher education. This rapid evolution cannot fail to have a profound effect in areas of personal fulfillment, cultural development, and economic growth. Whereas programmes for the formal training of young adult citizens have long existed in other industrialized countries, Canadian needs are only now being met with new plans consistent with this country's historical background and sociological development. These plans are frequently executed with boldness and ingenuity; participation is found at all levels of government and in citizen organizations. This co-operation provides both the flexibility and scope necessary to satisfy varying local requirements, while holding promise for a desirable broad range of co-ordination.

Perhaps the most significant concept to emerge is that of a comprehensive community college which offers technical and related forms of training, programmes in continuing education for all ages of adult citizens, and courses equivalent to initial university education. The community college has its roots in many educational practices. It finds expression in varied forms throughout the provinces. Changes now underway or planned are among the most far-reaching developments within the total educational structure of Canada. The purpose of this article is to describe the development of these changes and to summarize the state of the growth in each of the provinces.

A word about terminology. As institutions evolve, terms which might have had validity at one time lose their original meaning and need to be discarded. *Terminal*, for example, is sometimes used to designate technical or occupational programmes. In a modern concept of education, the word terminal clearly has no place. *Transfer* is often used in reference to a programme of studies designed to provide credits toward a baccalaureate degree. This term creates confusion and should be abandoned. With the proliferation of post-high school institutions, transfer programmes are being developed for articulation between many different kinds of institutions. Indeed, the time is not far off when students who have completed a general baccalaureate programme at a university will transfer to a community college for specific technical training. *Junior College* usually refers to an institution whose programme of studies is largely confined to the first year or two of studies leading to a baccalaureate degree given elsewhere. There are few such public institutions now left in Canada. *Post-secondary* is a vague term used to describe a wide range of institutions open to high school matriculants and others who may qualify. It does not clearly indicate, however, that a third level or system beyond the primary and secondary system has come into being in Canada consisting of two categories: degree-granting and non-degree granting institutions. A better term which incorporates both these divisions is *tertiary*. In English-speaking Canada, *college* is used to designate either part of a university or of a non-degree granting institution whose emphasis on occupational training makes its purpose quite different from the university. *Community* suggests the obligation of a college to respond quickly and usefully to the changing needs of its environment. *Community college* will be defined below. Suffice it to say here that a community college has probably a greater flexibility and diversity in programmes, student population, administrative structure, and philosophical base than any other educational institution in existence.

The early years: the junior college and the technical institute

The origin of the junior college concept in Canada is obscure. Perhaps the earliest English language junior college was Prince of Wales College founded in 1860 in Prince Edward Island. In the forty years which followed, probably there were no more than six institutions offering "college work" not leading to a degree. Whether these were designed to provide only a limited extension of education beyond high school, or were actually intended to achieve eventual degree-granting status but failed, is conjectural. In any event, the function of these schools was clearly recognized in the 1930's. *A Report on the Junior College Situation in Canada to 1934*, given to the Sixteenth Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, named eleven junior colleges, seven of which were in Saskatchewan. All but three were under denominational control.

According to *Canadian Institutions of Higher Education, 1958-1959* (Dominion Bureau of Statistics), there were at that time forty-nine junior colleges. More than half of these were French-language institutions situated in Quebec. The other institutions (both English and French language) offered university-level studies. Three were military colleges. Of the forty-nine colleges, three operated under federal control, five were under provincial jurisdiction, forty were church-governed and one was controlled by a group of local school boards. Only two institutions included the term "junior college" in their titles.

Publicly supported technical education in Canada developed in three stages: manual training in the upper grades of public schools; specialized education in agricultural schools, technical and high schools, and advanced technical training at institutes of technology. Vocational education dates from the early days of New France. The Nova Scotia College of Art was founded in 1887. The Provincial Institute of Technology and

Art was established in Calgary in 1916. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto was established in 1852 as a normal school, becoming a technical institute in 1948.

Evolving identity

The term "community college" is used here in the generic sense and is applied to a group of institutions across the country having certain features more or less in common. None of these grants degrees; all are oriented toward community service. The nature of such service, of course, varies widely depending on the urban or rural location of the college, proximity to a university, degree of industrialization in the community and so forth. Colleges offer one, two or three years of study beyond the high school. Admission qualifications characteristically include junior or senior matriculation (depending on the course and the province). Special provision is made frequently for the more mature student over eighteen who lacks certain admission requirements. Some colleges are comprehensive in the sense that they offer *both* university parallel and occupational programmes; others are restricted to programmes in one category or the other. Certain colleges, offering solely technical training programmes, are restricted further to courses in but one occupational category. The functional emphasis of the colleges is on teaching rather than on research. They may be public institutions stressing the "open door policy" and financially supported largely by governments, or private institutions with more selective admission qualifications and supported by private means. In some provinces, private colleges enjoy government support.

Community colleges, as defined here, do not include seminaries or colleges whose paramount concern is the theological preparation of ministers or priests; colleges run privately for profit; certain types of vocational schools or schools of nursing. The latter are omitted from consideration simply because they are so numerous and because they are rapidly being absorbed by colleges and universities.

There is little uniformity in the nomenclature of colleges across the country. In British Columbia the categories of "district" and "regional" colleges are defined by law but these categories are not reflected in the names of the colleges. Legislation in 1958 in Alberta required the expression "junior college" to be part of the name of every public college; legislation in 1969 removed the term "junior." In Ontario all institutions falling within the provisions of legislation in 1965 are called "colleges of applied arts and technology" (CAAT). In Quebec colleges governed by legislation in 1967 are called "collèges d'enseignement général et professionel" (CEGEP)—(colleges of general and vocational education). Agricultural and other specialized institutions are usually so designated. No institution includes "community" in its name. Only a very few use the term "junior." The chief executive officer of colleges in Alberta and Ontario is called "president"; in Quebec, "directeur général"; and in British Columbia, "principal". In some provinces, occasionally the title "dean" is used.

Alternatively the definition of a community college may be found in relation to the educational function it performs. Canadian community colleges typically offer to persons beyond high school age, some or all of the following:

- vocational and technical programmes of either long or short term, in the trades, industrial, agricultural and semi-professional fields, preparing students for employment upon graduation, and providing the employed with retraining opportunities;
- university parallel courses in the liberal arts and sciences, usually providing first- or second-year credit toward a baccalaureate degree;
- programmes in continuing education available in the day or evening, designed to meet the recreational, avocational, or occupational concerns of adult part-time students of all ages;
- a counselling service to assist all students regardless of age in choosing careers, remedying deficiencies, and in preparing themselves as useful citizens;
- programmes serving groups interested in civic, cultural, or recreational improvement of the community.

These aims of the community college appear in sharp contrast to those of the university, whose primary tasks are to preserve knowledge, to teach what is known, and to search for new knowledge.

Statistics

Within the context of the foregoing characteristics, there were 110 Canadian community colleges in the summer of 1969. Of these, 96 in operation during 1968-1969 had a total student population of 85,933 or 3.75 per cent of the 18-24 year old population in Canada. For 96 of the 110 colleges, the total number of women enrolled was 25,772 or approximately 30 per cent of the total student enrolment. For 99 out of 110 colleges the total number of staff (including senior administrative officials) who taught in community colleges was 8,097. In Quebec, 4.8 per cent of the 18-24 year old population attended community colleges; 4.4 per cent in Alberta; 3.7 per cent in British Columbia; 3.4 per cent in Nova Scotia; 3.3 per cent in Ontario; 3.1 per cent in Manitoba; 2.1 per cent in Newfoundland; 2.0 per cent in Saskatchewan; 2.0 per cent in New Brunswick; and 0 per cent in Prince Edward Island. Twenty-two of the 106 colleges now in operation described themselves as "private colleges". Forty-seven including the CAATS in Ontario, were listed as technical institutes; the others were listed as comprehensive colleges. A total of 38 colleges offered instruction prior to 1960; 59 prior to 1965. Almost half of the 110 colleges came into being after 1964. Most of the colleges are responsible to a provincially appointed board of directors; approximately 30 per cent reported directly to a department of the provincial government.

Trends

The promise of a community college is to provide further educational opportunities to thousands of students for whom the door to higher education or specialized training leading directly to a career would otherwise be closed. A splendid start has been made in Canada to fulfill this goal uniformly across the land. The number of colleges will sharply increase until a college exists within commuting distance of almost every Canadian citizen.

A second trend is the establishment of provincial *systems* of coordination and control wherein a number of newly created institutions, or older institutions gathered together under one board, become a part of a provincially organized network. Alberta affords the most recent example of a provincial system. At the national level, a commendable effort is being made in the interests of country-wide development by the Canadian Commission on Community Colleges to explore the possibility of establishing a national agency in cooperation with community colleges.

A third trend is a movement toward comprehensive institutions with generalized curricula and away from specialized colleges. Programmes available to the part-time day or evening student seem bound to expand. (Unfortunately, the area slowest to develop in terms of community inclusiveness is that of programmes for persons beyond the conventional student age.) Future developments will also include emphasis on the transfer of students in occupational programmes between colleges within a system.

A fourth trend is the increased effort to clarify the bases of articulation between community colleges, universities, and high schools. Much more information is needed than presently exists regarding the flow of students from secondary schools through colleges (and between colleges) and universities.

A fifth trend is the removal of colleges from the jurisdiction of school boards and direct government control. Increasingly faculty are recruited from other than secondary schools. Correlated with these developments is the growing involvement of faculty and students in policymaking.

Finally, the value of community colleges as centres where students can reconcile aspirations with realistic educational goals will become increasingly appreciated. With improved counselling services and greater community awareness of the special character of colleges, students will be better able to sort out the kind of training they want. Some who had elected to attend university will change their minds; some will decide upon university training sooner or later, a decision they might not have taken otherwise. As a result of this sorting-out process, dropouts will decline, industry will be more effectively served, and a more economical and efficient total educational system will emerge.

It may be too early to perceive the outcome of the current vigorous and rapid evolution in post-high school institutions of higher learning in Canada, but the over-all trend is clear. The educational needs of that large group of young adults requiring preparation for useful and rewarding places in society will be met. Probably this will be done most effectively and in most places by some form of community college. The result will be an achievement as momentous as the commitment of Canadians earlier this century to universal high school education.

(11) Organizing Education for Special Groups

For all groups in society continuing education is a necessity for economic survival, for participation as citizens and for personal growth and occupational groups may and often do provide the sponsorship for continuing education. Selected for this section are accounts of education for the professions and for trade unionists.

Organizing Continuing Education for the Professions

I. Introduction

PER STENSLAND (1966)

The field of continuing education in the next decade is going to be explored by professionals more intensively than ever before. Not only do we now have graduate schools and advanced programs where research will uncover facts and issues which are far too poorly known. There will also be a sharp increase in the number of persons with professional competence in continuing education.

In the flurry of excitement it might be easy to forget a strategic group of professionals who are involved in education and on whose competence and commitment a vast amount of future continuing education will depend. This paper deals with that group, the New Professional.

The New Professional is the doctor, the architect, the lawyer, the nurse, the social worker, and the city planner who are using specific and unique competence in work with adults as well as children and young people. The theme of this paper is that all professions concerned with ideas, information and understanding, skills and abilities, attitudes, values and beliefs have an educational component. We have perfected our education of specialists, in medicine, engineering, law, sciences, but we have hitherto sorely neglected their specific preparation for competence in education. The new doctor and the new nurse are teachers of health, not only administrators of health science. The new lawyer is an educator, not only an interpreter and advisor on jurisprudence. The new engineer is a teacher of technology, intelligent use of science, human cooperation in solving technical problems, not only a constructor of buildings or a planner of mechanical schemes.

A decade ago, Professor Cyril Houle in a well-known statement illustrated the hierarchy of leadership in adult education with a pyramid. At the apex he placed those who are full-time employed in adult education and extension. The next layer of leaders are those who "combine adult educational functions with other duties which they perform."[1] In the third layer is the majority, the lay leaders.

The second layer of the pyramid of leadership does not mention specifically what I call the New Professional. Dr. Houle's arguments apply to them, nevertheless: "Those who have some responsibility for adult education as a part of their regular employment require both pre-service and in-service education." We now need to pay special attention to these professionals, especially as they seldom think of themselves as even partially responsible for adult education. The burning question is not whether the New Professional is an educator–it will for some time be whether he is an effective educator. Once the education role of nurses and doctors, pharmacists, engineers and lawyers has been recognized, the central problem will be what kind of preparation they need to fulfill that role adequately.

II. The Change System

The physician, the engineer, the clergyman, and the lawyer share with the professional adult educator a profound involvement in the community. They are joined by other professionals, the journalist, the social worker, the city planner, the teacher. They are all committed to use special knowledge and skill for the solution of special problems, all part of the larger destiny of the community. Professions all have to work, not just anywhere, but in specific places, with specific people, and in specific situations. Meanwhile, all these "specifics" are in fast and inexorable change. While professions are operating here and now, both place and time for the actions are shifting.

In this predicament, professional preparation is particularly vulnerable. The doctor was educated in yesterday's schools and colleges, graduating to carry out his practice today in a community which is heading toward a tomorrow radically different from the one he learned about in textbooks, seminars and laboratories. For that reason it is right to talk about him as "a New Professional", however old his medical specialty happens to be. The lawyer, the engineer, the physician, the school superintendent, the nurse, the clergyman, all have the same problem of obvious changes in the environment where they ply their trades, and in their professional community of colleagues.

To deal with these changes one cannot rely on automatic adjustments, nor intuitive improvisations. As there are new and shifting circumstances, the changing moment and place call for dynamic and continuous education, rather than static and terminal. Most of all, they call for a mature understanding of program developments in communities. The New Professional to care effectively for "the education phase" of his work needs to understand the community environment of which he is part and which he also intends to affect, and he needs to understand the processes of change.

An effective change process naturally depends on both the agent for change (the doctor, the lawyer, the engineer) and the person who is supposed to change (the patient, the client, the customer). One might telescope the many forces at work by using the system concept, for example in analyzing what goes on when a doctor works with a patient in his clinic: the change that hopefully will take place depends on ideas, skills and attitudes that the doctor brings to the situation, including ideas about patients, about the process of cure and about himself. The change also depends upon the ideas, thoughts, skills and attitudes that the patient brings, including those about the doctor, about the cure, about himself as a patient. All the forces at work at the moment of change make up the change system. In this system, the doctor is a teacher, without calling himself so. The patient is a learner. Similar conditions surround a lawyer when he works with his client, the social worker when she studies a case, the architect when he discusses a new house plan with the prospective owner. The elements in a learning system are all there. However, the effectiveness of the professional as an agent of change depends upon whether he is adequately prepared as a teacher, not only as a specialist.

III. The Community Framework to Consider

First, this educator of adults, the New Professional, needs to consider the communities present at the moment of change: his own community and that of his patient, client, learner. This matrix of six questions provides a useful framework within which a professional must look at the communities.

WHERE?	Where is the community around my professional work? How big is it? What changes have been taking place in space and distance? How can I best relate my professional work to the geography of the place? Where is my own professional community?
WHO?	Who are the people in this community—from what population groups do my clients or customers come? Has the population here changed? In what respects is my own personal background different?
WHAT?	What are the resources of this community? What is the basis for its economy, its life, its future? Have the resources recently changed? What kind of skills do I need to use best the human and material resources of this community?

WITH WHOM?	What are the relationships and the communication lines among people who make up my area of concern as a professional? How can I best fit into the picture of relationships and deal with people as they are? How do my own relationships compare to those in the community?
HOW?	What kind of techniques and process are people using? Have their technical methods changed recently? What kind of skills are required in my profession to use the present technology? How can I best perfect the skill in dealing with the particular community citizens who are my concern?
WHY?	And finally, why is this community different from others? What are the values that people have, the beliefs they live by? Have these values shifted recently? What skills do I need as a professional to understand the spirit of this town? What are my own values in my profession? How do they compare with the values of the community?

IV. The Learning Process

Second, the agent of change needs to understand what learning is. For example, the nurse is promoting learning, change away from illness, discomfort, poor health, pain. In her profession, she is not only an angel of mercy but an agent of change. Thus, she like other New Professionals, needs to be prepared to promote effective learning. In her professional background she, like other New Professionals, needs to have particular opportunity to study the forces that work for effective learning in our kind of society.

The following seven questions were used in a combination with the earlier community matrix in the several professional groups mentioned above. To illustrate the use of the questions I am using the doctor as an example of a New Professional:

(1) *Motivation* is regarded as a key factor in the process of learning. We change—and learn—when we want to. The doctor as a leader needs to have skills to discover and to build on the motivation of people with whom he is working. What must we now know about the motivational forces at work in a hospital, a clinic, with a home-maker sick in bed, with a nurse? What kind of knowledge and insight, what kind of skills, should the new doctor be given in his degree work and in his continuing education?

(2) *Ability and competence* play a role not only in ourselves as professionals but in the person with whom we work and who is involved in our programs as either a recipient or as a target for change. We change—and learn—when we can do so. What skills do we develop in a physician to help him understand human capacity and human ability, not only to

recover but to learn new behaviour? How can one demonstrate by example to young doctors, nurses, and administrators more imaginative ways of testing human ability than through our present examination system in the university? How can we teach significant skills in utilizing to the fullest human capacity?

(3) *Experience and past learnings* are the basis upon which we build new conditions. We change—and learn—starting from past learnings. How do we develop in our new doctors the skills and creativity with which they might use past and present experience of clients, customers, patients—in more imaginative ways than by handing out the doctor's special knowledge or skill? To what extent can we develop the ability to utilize people's experience and old knowledge in creative planning, to produce what Jerome Bruner calls "effective surprise."[2]

(4) *Relevance and meaning* are central forces in learning and change, even with the element of "effective surprise". We learn—and change—when it makes sense to us. Medical programs, new programs of nursing, hospital planning will all be effective and significant to the extent that they are relevant. In professional degree curricula, how can we develop in the students the sense of relevance perspective which is necessary for professional leadership? Relevance too often is what the College Professor says is relevant—it is after all part of his own presentation! How can we make the new doctor learn how to judge relevance; discover for himself the particular significance in a particular moment of change?

(5) Effective learning depends on *feedback*. We learn what "pays off". Our whole culture is a network of signals and responses, communications and feedback. The computer would not be possible unless we had discovered the principles of feedback. In our education of the new doctor, how can we best establish an effective system of communication between the college specialist and practicing medicine; among the doctors themselves, among the health professionals in their own life in the community after they have left the university, between the doctor and the nurse, between both of them and the member of the hospital board for example?

As we live in a time of tremendous developments in communication, how can we include the new tools as meaningful learning-material in medical education? There are already computer-doctors, in some areas of our continent, a few computer-architects, many computer-engineers. How can we develop, without defensiveness, an understanding of the computer and the electronic impulse communication system as part of the lives of physicians?

(6) *Participation* is another touch-stone of effective change and effective learning. We learn what we do. There is general agreement among learning psychologists that active learning is more effective than passive. One could reword this statement and suggest that the nurse in her work and the doctor in his only can do an infinitesimal part themselves. They have to carry out most of their major tasks in collaboration and count on

active support, understanding, and participation by others. How can one then in their education give them insights and skills that make them effective cooperators? Much of their future work in sciences and in arts of medicine will depend on team work. How can we provide significant team studies and projects? Might we even set up team examinations, even team degrees, rather than the outmoded individual tests and degrees?

(7) The seventh factor influencing learning and thus playing a role in leadership for change is *satisfaction*. We learn best what we like. Reward is more effective than punishment in purposeful change–professional leadership built on trust is more significant than leadership built on fear.

Leadership is of course a set of functions performed in a group. Here it is worth considering what Jack Gibbs suggests as elements necessary for group growth. Effective group growth, Gibbs suggests, depends on acceptance and trust, on significant data available for the process, on adequate organization, and on shared control.[3]

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[1] Houle, Cyril, "Professional Education for Educators of Adults", *Adult Education*, Volume VI, No. 3, Spring, 1956, Chicago, Ill.

[2] Bruner et al, *Creative Thinking*, 1962, p. 11.

[3] Gibbs, Jack "Climate for Trust Formation", in *T-Group Theory & Laboratory Method*, p. 279.

Organizing Labour Education in the College

J. R. W. WHITEHOUSE (1969)

Framework and Definition

Although labour education programs are still not an important consideration for colleges and universities in Canada, the consequences of social, economic and technological change, that spurred college and university connected labour programs elsewhere, are bringing about a change in attitude toward, and a broadening of the concept of, college centred labour education here.

The demands for competent, knowledgeable trade union leadership, at all levels, will increase with the growing complexity of the technical and social problems faced by both the Canadian economy and Canadian labour movement.

Concomitant with increasing complexity in economic and technical matters is an increase in the number and scope of contractual matters over which management and labour bargain. This situation is already producing a growing union demand for specialized technical and professional personnel.

Labour is fast becoming as cognizant as management of the importance of staff and local union leadership development and training. Today, the major unions have on staff educators, publicists, researchers, engineers, lawyers, accountants, and so on. They also utilize in-service training to broaden the horizons of full-time organizers and administrators as well as of local, regional and national leaders.

Fundamentally the North American trade unionist is a pragmatist. He is committed to the collective bargaining concept and is keenly aware of the need to develop the understanding and skill required for effective functioning around the bargaining table.

It is this functional and group aspect of labour education which gives it special significance for adult educators and brings it into sharp contrast with the individual or community approach of most non-vocational adult education. In Larry Rogin's terms "... it is an attempt to involve workers in educational programs through their functional organization, reaching them through their unions and developing educational programs around the needs that emerge from their activity in the union".[1]

Despite the fact that the regnant defence of education within the trade union movement has been utilitarian, as Freda Goldman points out, programs of liberal education for labour continue to grow largely out of recognition of the fact that the more direct and influential role played by labour today requires a more broadly educated leadership.[2] The defence of liberal studies remains utilitarian "... but it is ultilitarianism of a more intangible, more ultimate, less immediately observable kind. The union man, it is argued, can serve his union—and his country—best, if he is educated to see union problems from a widened perspective, to take into account less immediate ends than have heretofore almost exclusively concerned him; he has to understand the larger social picture, to view the union's self-interest in the light of the needs of the society as a whole".

Quite obviously the extent to which any particular institute of higher learning will respond to the felt needs of any community group depends upon (a) the degree of acceptance of the public service role by the college or university, and (b) the status and influence of any particular interest group, or public, within the community.

If the most formidable obstacle to university centred labour education in Canada has been acceptance of the traditional university role, renewal of interest in college conducted labour education can be anticipated to the extent that the community college movement emphasizes the public service function and role.

Even so, college labour education poses such problems as, what changes of attitude, what union-college instrumentalities, what conditions are necessafy for effective co-operative operation of such programs? How must traditional curricula and instructional patterns be adapted to meet labour education needs and the learning potential of the trade unionist? In short, how can a college labour education program be offered in a way that will be relevant to the trade unionist?

Theodore Brameld puts forward two complementary definitions that reflect the use of "workers' education" as a means, maintaining their effectiveness, and as a training ground for broader community action. He sees it as "....a means through which wage-earners in organized, collective relations may learn how best to utilize and dispose of the one commodity they themselves own in substantial, if potential quantities and qualities; their skills, interests, energies, in short, their ability to work".[3] In addition its purpose is "....to educate workers in their relations to each other and especially to the economy at large primarily through the trade union".

This emphasis on group action for group purposes is stressed by Lois Grey, of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations who sees labour education as "....a specialized branch of adult education; it is a non-credit service for mature persons, but it is not vocational education, i.e., training in specific job skills. Labor education is distinguished from adult education generally by the occupational status of its clientele, by its organizational ties, and, to a lesser extent, by its content. Its students are workers; it is typically attached, in some way, to the organized labor movement; and its subject matter relates, directly or indirectly, to the workers' interest in his economic position, his employment relationship, and his union membership. Within this framework, labor education encompasses a wide range of programs which may be grouped together in terms of their objectives. These include ideological, based on a commitment to social change; institutional, designed to build organizational loyalty and participation; professional, preparation for leadership; remedial, raising the level of the educationally disadvantaged, and cultural, for life enjoyment".[4]

While for clarification purposes we must recognize that the meaning which attaches to the terms "workers education" and "labour education" varies considerably, we must also acknowledge that in a rapidly changing social environment the traditional dichotomy between liberal adult education and labour education is of diminishing significance.

Criteria for Success – The Community Dimension

The extent to which any particular institute of higher learning will respond to the felt educational needs of a particular public within the community depends upon the accepted concept of its role in society.

College labour education has been successful in the United States because "....state universities in a very real sense are service organizations. They are obligated, particularly through their extension divisions, to disseminate the fruits of research and teaching among the diverse groups formed in every state...."[5]

It follows that "....application of the academic disciplines to solution of the practical problems trade unions and their leaders face", is a proper objective of the service-oriented institute.

This supports the view of two other labour educators – Alice Cook and

Agnes Douty—that the American university has been traditionally, "regarded as an institution of higher learning with an obligation to provide practical services to the public".

Failure of Canadian universities to accept their service function, even in terms of the "participation of the adult, part-time student, in the life of the University", recently prompted Alan Thomas ". . . . to wonder if the inclusive role of the University upon which we have for so long depended is really over. Perhaps we should be thinking of new institutions that can perform the general task of the educational leadership so closely identified with universities in the past".[6]

He was reacting to a statement by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada that "reflected a concern for the encroachment of an uncaring utilitarian community on the university to the detriment of its essential mission in the community".

Despite this concern, and the attempt by some universities to cling to a life that "will be the traditional one of a sort of guild system so dear to the professors", the concept of a university role well rooted in public service is traditional—at least in "Canadian universities west of Winnipeg—directly influenced by the American land-grant tradition. . . . "

We have evidence of this from University of Saskatchewan President Murray, who, in 1909, visualized a university, "that will leave no calling, no sphere of life untouched—a University that is as broad as these plains, as deep in richness as this marvellous soil, and as stimulating in spirit as the breezes which sweep over our fields".[7]

Some universities may reject ". . . . the idea and idealism involved in serving the whole community"; by their very nature community colleges must accept obligation.

Among adult educators, even during the formative years, there was a broad measure of agreement with the proposition that the proposed community colleges in Ontario could be the educational route to learning for diverse social groups within the community.

As expressed by Roby Kidd the proposition holds that because the community college is located close to where people live and work, and where there are multifarious educational needs, it "can be an intellectual bank for many able people to draw upon, at any age, and over a wide range of intellectual interests and activities". He feels that the community colleges "can offer some people the education or training they need to enter upon a vocation. It can bring to others the opportunity for developing learning skills before entrance to higher education. It can foster cultural and artistic interests. It can put intellectual foundations under some of the major economic activities of the particular region. And it can offer to all the opportunity of continuing their education after graduation".[8]

It was in response to such a view of public service that certain universities in the United States, after many years of serving businessmen and farmers, discovered labour as another major occupational grouping with specialized educational needs.

Since the end of World War II the number of universities in the United States sponsoring labour education programs has steadily increased. We have it from Herbert Levine, of the Rutger's labour program, that ".... at least twenty-three universities now provide year-round, substantive labour education services. There are some 85 to 100 labour educators working full-time as university faculty or staff members". By 1968 the number was twenty-six.

There is reasonably broad acceptance of the conception of the "community college" as an institution of learning with a clear obligation to meet the felt educational needs of people within the community. It must logically follow from this that the organized labour movement representing a significant segment of the tax-paying population, should have access to specialized services of the community college in areas of specific concern to trade unionists.

Thus, in my view, not only is it quite proper for a community college to bring its resources and academic disciplines to the solution of the problems faced daily by trade unionists, but the more direct and influential role played by trade unionists in community affairs at all levels will add to the demand for programs of liberal education in areas of leadership development.

Reasons for a properly structured and administered community college program in the labour education field can be found in the increasingly complex technical problems that the Canadian economy faces; the complexity of new collective bargaining concepts and problems that demand new breadths of understanding and skills. Furthermore, the rapid rate of interaction of union and public affairs, places heavy responsibility and duty upon trade union officials at all levels.

I suggest that trade unions present adult education at the community college level with the challenge for a new curriculum and with a vast untapped reservoir of educational need.

What we can expect to evolve through joint union-college consultation will be courses of study that will combine shop-oriented subjects with the liberal arts in a package designed to meet the specific needs of the individual in his trade union role.

Conditions for College-Labour Co-operation in Education

It seems to me that we can draw selectively from the experiences of colleges and universities elsewhere, for purposes of establishing the criteria upon which meaningful college-labour co-operation can be based.

In my view certain conditions are essential for the kind of college-union co-operation that will result in a successful college labour program.

There are at least nine conditions: (1) the fact of trade unions and the validity of the collective bargaining process must be fully accepted; (2) there must be recognition of the need for objectivity, intellectual integrity and the maintenance of academically acceptable teaching standards as far as the college is concerned; (3) a functional approach, in both curriculum and instructional areas, is necessary to meet the felt needs of workers and unions; (4) flexibility is the key to acceptable subject matter; (5) within the college or university structure the labour education service must have its own identity; (6) programs must be joint administrative undertakings between a trade union consulting committee and the college; (7) there will be established standards for teachers, methods and materials; (8) the cost of the service must not be considered a decisive factor as to worth, and (9) there must be mutual respect and confidence between the labour movement and the college.

All of the institutes presently involved in labour education programs appear to accept the fact that liaison and co-operation, on a continuous basis, are essential if a vital and meaningful labour education movement is to develop. All have accepted the representative trade union advisory or consulting committee as the most appropriate instrumentality for accomplishing this.

By using a functional approach to curriculum development—by gearing course content to the felt needs of workers—experienced labour educators are dispelling the rather wide-spread myth that working people are not particularly interested in education. It is a fair hypothesis, that workers who pass through the special labour education experience will more easily be integrated into regular college programs.

Recognition of the college need for academic integrity and acceptable teaching standards does not obviate the fact that the average university professor cannot take his course, his reading list, and his teaching habits directly from the university environment into the union hall.

I suggest that a major problem for the community colleges is the selection or training of faculty who will know how to talk, but not talk down to, a group of tough, practical-minded trade unionists, matured by the wealth of life experience; the selection of faculty who will be able to achieve the kind of learner involvement that adult learning demands.

To reiterate, trade unions which agree to use college facilities and instructional staff will expect to have a meaningful voice in determining the nature of the service and the kind of instruction which will be available to their members. They are not likely to support the college labour program which they feel is unrelated to the unions' needs, or which they feel is dominated either by management or academic groups unsympathetic to the objectives and philosophy of the labour movement.

Herbert Levine, Chairman of the Labor Program Institute of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers, phrases it well:

"The educational needs of working men are not so far afield that they should present insurmountable problems. They are, after all, not too different from the educational needs of adults generally. They require adjustments in curricula, retraining of teachers, and emphasis upon community-conscious rather than ivory tower-oriented education; and they require a program which takes into account those differences which do exist between labor and adult education.

Labor education, like all liberal adult education, has as its ultimate goal the mature man—the man who knows his job, has a reasonable understanding of his environment and engages in forthright social and community action....

Together labor and adult educators can help build a mature union member equipped to enjoy life in a democratic society".[9]

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2 Freda Goldman (ed.) *Reorientation in Labor Education: A symposium on Liberal Education for Labor in the University* (Chicago, Illinois, The Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1962) p. 1.

3 Theodore Brameld, *Workers' Education in the United States* (New York: Harper, 1941).

4 Lois Gray, The American Way in Labor Education Reprinted from *Industrial Relations Vol. 5, No. 2,* Feb. 1966 in *Readings of Labour Education* (New Brunswick, N. J. Rutgers University Press, 1967) p. 3.

5 Irvine L. H. Kerrison & Herbert A. Levine, *Labor Leadership Education: A Union-University Approach* (New Brunswick, N. J. Rutgers University Press, 1960) p. V.

6 Alan Thomas, *Editorial,* Continuous Learning Vol. 7. No. 5 Sept.-Oct. 1968, CAAE p. 194.

7 Carlyle King, *The First Fifty: Teaching, Research and Public Service at the University of Saskatchewan—1909-1959.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1959) p. 123.

8 J. R. Kidd, *The Implications of Continuous Learning* (Toronto, W. J. Gage, Ltd., 1966) p. 105.

9 Herbert A. Levine, *Labor Unions and Adult Education,* Monograph No. 6 (New Brunswick, N. J. NJAAE Dec. 1963) p. 6.

Evaluating the Labour College of Canada

H. D. WOODS (1963)

The Summer of 1963 will probably be long remembered by members of the labour movement as the period during which the first resident session of the Labour College of Canada was held in Montreal. Now that it has been brought to a conclusion it is appropriate that we should examine and review the experience and try to evaluate what was achieved. In this way insight will be gained into the potentialities of the College which will be vital for future planning. It will help us keep our perspective if we start with some of the more important facts about the College itself.

This unique Canadian institution was established in 1962. The College is a distinct entity with a corporate personality of its own. It is incorporated under the laws of Quebec. Though it is the product of the joint agreement and efforts of the Canadian Labour Congress, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the University of Montreal, and McGill University, the College is not, in any way, subservient to any of these bodies. It is important to emphasize this because there has been some misunderstanding regarding the independence of the College. Neither with regard to academic policy nor finance and administration does any outside authority control College policy. Decisions regarding policy are taken by the Board of Governors of the College; academic administration is the responsibility of the Administrative Committee, advised by the teaching staff. There is no doubt that each of the two labour centres and each of the two universities has an important influence on the College since each is represented on the Board by a number of governors, named respectively by the universities and the union centres. The practice has been to work to a consensus rather than to decide issues by voting. This procedure has worked well, partly because of the serious preliminary planning which was done in the Canadian Labour Congress before the College was established. Indeed, so far as curriculum, staffing, and methods are concerned, there has been no substantial alteration in the original plans suggested by the C.L.C. two years ago.

First Session Held at University of Montreal

The office of the College is located at McGill University, but the first resident session was conducted at the University of Montreal. In all, eighty-six students registered for the session. Of these, 33 were in a French-speaking section and 53 in two English-speaking sections. One student had to withdraw because of family illness.

The program of courses included economics, industrial sociology, history, political science and government, and the theory and practice of unionism. The methods of instruction and the level of presentation were similar to those used in the universities themselves. There were lectures, conferences, some tutorials; essay assignments, and final essay papers by which the students' relative standings were determined at the end of the summer session. Five courses presented the students with an extremely heavy load of work. A library was established and approximately two books assigned for each course.

This meant that in the space of seven weeks the students were called upon to attempt to read, at a minimum, much of the serious scholarly works on the respective fields of study. In addition, there were available other volumes for reference purposes. It is not surprising, therefore, that the students found the going rather rough at times. Those of us who were involved on the staff side were at times somewhat concerned that the program might be too heavy. But the students responded well, worked long hours into the night, and spent much of their week-end time on their reading and essays.

The College Schedule

The individual courses were arranged as follows. The morning session on Monday started at 8.30 Two hours were devoted to one subject (with a break period of ten minutes), then the second subject took over, and continued until 12.30. On Tuesday the same two subjects were scheduled, but the one which started first on Monday was second on Tuesday. Thus, if History was scheduled for 8.30 on Monday, followed by Economics at 10.30, the next day Economics started at 8.30 and History at 10.30. The Theory and Practice of Unionism was scheduled for Wednesday all day in two periods: 9.00 to 12.00 in the morning and 3.00 to 5.00 in the afternoon. Thursday and Friday were devoted to the two courses which were not scheduled earlier in the week, the arrangement being the same as for the courses on Monday and Tuesday. Thus each student was required to be in class for a total of twenty-one hours per week—four hours for each of four courses and five hours for the Theory and Practice of Unionism.

To persons accustomed to forty hours in the plant, this may not seem to be a long week. However, we must not overlook reading and essay work. In universities we usually assume that the student in the social sciences should spend at least two hours in the library for each hour he spends in class. It is for this reason that university undergraduate programs in such studies usually run from 12 to 15 hours per week as a maximum classroom load. We were asking at least five or six hours more. If the Labour College program required the same ratio of library hours to classroom hours, we were asking something like an eighty-hour week. This was in fact the case. I hasten to add that the students came through with all banners flying, and did remarkably well.

It is the considered opinion of the instructional staff that in seven weeks these students covered the equivalent of half a year's university work. This would mean that the load must have been a little more than twice that borne by university students. It is logical to ask how this could be done. I believe the answer is to be found in the two greatest successes of the College in this first year of operation. These are the excellence of the students themselves, and the quality of the instructional staff. We were, I believe, remarkably fortunate in the selection process which was applied to student applicants, and we were also fortunate in the persons we managed to attract to the teaching cadre.

How the Students were Chosen

A word about student selection is in order. In anticipation of the problems selection would present, the College invited approximately forty persons across the country to accept the position of "Labour College

Representative" for their community and the contiguous region. Most of these representatives were university staff personnel, themselves working in the social sciences in their own universities; some were labour relations specialists. Many had had contact with unions, and all were in sympathy with the purpose and objectives of the College. When an application was received at the College office in Montreal, it was photostated and sent to the representative closest to the applicant's home community. The applicant was instructed to arrange for an interview with the representative, and the latter then sent a report and appraisal to the College.

These reports were most valuable in the final selection which was the responsibility of the two co-principals, Professor Beausoleil and myself. Without them the task would have been impossible. With them, there resulted the selection of a group of unusual competence and ability to do university level work. The Labour College owes a debt of gratitude to its representatives that it can never repay. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the success of the first session is largely due to the generous and careful efforts of these representatives. The selection process gave us a group of persons who ranged in age from twenty-two to fifty-seven, and perhaps most important, it gave a group of persons with an incredibly high motivation. If in the years to come the Labour College can be assured of this calibre of students, its academic success is assured.

The Teaching Staff

The second factor contributing largely to the success of the first resident session was the superior quality of the teaching staff. Three criteria were applied in choosing these teachers. First, we looked for competence in the field of study to be entrusted to the instructor; secondly, we sought that imponderable quality which marks a good teacher, the capacity to communicate; and thirdly, we searched for persons with a genuine belief in the College and enthusiasm for the program. This combination is not easy to find, but it does exist.

We wanted historians, sociologists, political scientists and economists who were themselves highly qualified in their respective fields. But we looked also for lively and engaging personalities, as well as instructors who would appreciate the special problems of imparting university level instruction to students who, however intelligent they might be, in many cases suffer from serious gaps in their formal educational preparation, and in many cases with inadequate reading skills, and in some cases with poor intellectual and study habits.

In the result we acquired a group of instructors who were mostly relatively young, who insisted on high standards, but who were aware of the special circumstances of the student body and were prepared to adapt teaching methods accordingly. Thus, in the economics courses the use of methods which required competence in matriculation level mathematics was avoided simply because a majority of students did not possess this tool. But while such compromises were necessary, the level of instruction was not lowered. Other methods were used.

We have sometimes been asked if we gave the instruction a "pro-labour" slant. We did not. We behaved as university instructors should: we were objective. However, we did select topics in relation to the interest of the student body. Thus, in sociology the emphasis tended to be on the sociological problems of industrialism. Similarly, in history the emphasis was on economic rather than political or constitutional history, and in economics issues such as the labour market, employment, and public policy and economic growth were given special attention.

The results were better than we had anticipated. Only two of the eighty-five students who completed the program could be classed as failures. A remarkably high percentage received distinction, and a considerable number were granted great distinction. But almost all of the students were a great credit to themselves and to the labour movement which supported them and the College.

There were Difficulties

There were problems in the program. Some were internal and relatively unimportant—the sort of administrative tangle which reflects lack of experience. Some of the books ordered were lost in transit for a time. There was administrative confusion over other matters; but these are items which can be corrected for the next session. There were other problems which were more internal to the labour movement. There was the vexed question of allocation of scarce places to a large number of applicants. In meeting this we placed capacity to benefit from the program first. Otherwise equal, we tried to recognize the claims of the various geographical sections of the country, and of the different unions. We believe that we admitted a good representative group of well qualified persons.

A second problem internal to the union movement was the slight competitive fear displayed between those who held "professional" status in the unions, business agents and international representatives, and those who did not possess such status. The professionals showed some fear of being "shown-up" in the results by the men from the locals; the latter were inclined to fear that the business agents and staff men had an advantage in experience and the availability of office assistance which would make them appear to be superior. I am happy to report that these fears of both groups were not revealed in the results. As noted earlier, the general level of performance was most gratifying and there was a good mixture of both groups in those who achieved distinction or great distinction. I believe the fears displayed by some students were without foundation. At least the instructional staff thought so.

The Students' Evaluation

It would be improper for me to try to reflect accurately what the students thought of the value of the program. There appeared to be considerable enthusiasm during the summer weeks and at the close of the session. But such opinions are not as valid as those the students may express some time after their return to their home communities. The College proposes to follow this up with the students when their perspective has sharpened with distance in time and space. There has been some criticism, but largely concerned with administrative details rather than with questions of curriculum. Some students may have been disappointed that there was not more emphasis on unionism and its problems. But others, we know, were in favour of reducing the time budgeted for this area of instruction. Our bias was toward the social sciences which we believed would help the students to gain a better understanding of the social world in which they live. We believe the mix can be defended successfully.

Where does the College go from Here?

What of the future? I am convinced from this first experience that the formation of the College was a sound idea. I am satisfied that its first steps were on firm ground. I believe it should both repeat its program and plan some careful expansion. Many of the students enquired about the possibility of advanced training for those who had completed the first session. Others would like to see a longer session each year. Some enthusiasts talk of a year round operation. There is the hope that several Canadian universities will recognize the courses as credits in their respective degree courses so that students starting at the Labour College may continue their higher education at the established institutions.

It is apparent that the College has much to consider. There is the question of a permanent home, a building owned by the College. We need a full-time Principal on a year-round basis. We probably would be better off if there were a nucleus of instructional staff personnel on a full-time basis also. Certainly we should seek temporary staff from universities across Canada rather than from McGill, Laval, and the University of Montreal only, as we were forced by time to do in 1963.

These are some of the problems and questions facing the College in the immediate future. They will, I am sure, be solved. But I would like to end on a note of caution. The College is a great, imaginative, and constructive idea. It is costing the Canadian Labour Movement a lot of money. Financial support is coming from other sources as well, but unionism will always carry a very large share of the load. There is a danger in this, the danger that unions will wish to realize "immediate returns" on the investment. This could result in two unfortunate tendencies.

First, there could be pressure for curriculum changes towards training in union problem-solving techniques. I submit that this would be a mistake because it would destroy the essential purpose of basic social science education, which is the cornerstone of the College. It would also call upon the College to perform training functions which can be done much better by the unions themselves. Secondly, there might, quite understandably, develop the idea that the students who have attended the College will feed back into the unions, and put their newly acquired knowledge to work for the benefit of the movement which made their educational opportunity possible. I submit that any proprietary attitude will have most unfortunate results. There is no doubt that the vast majority of the students will continue to be dedicated workers for unionism, but because they believe in the unions, and not because of a sense of obligation. This is the healthy relationship that is needed. There undoubtedly will be some who will drift out of the labour movement, even into managerial jobs. I would hope that some will turn to politics. I also hope that some will be able to go on to academic careers. Indeed, one of the instructors in the 1963 program was himself a product of Ruskin, the labour college of Oxford university.

But whatever the students do, their lives and the Canadian community will be enriched by the opportunity they have had. And I am convinced that labour in Canada will be the principal beneficiary.

(12) Organizing Adult Education in Residence

One of the significant learning environments is a residence specially designed for adults.

Included are a description of a new adult centre in Quebec and a statement about the need for "innovative schools".

A New Facility: Institut Cooperatif Desjardins

GERARD BARBIN (1964)

An important and significant event in the field of adult education occurred at Lévis, Quebec on December 4, 1963. This was the official opening of a modern French residential centre for adult education constructed at the cost of approximately one million dollars, *l'Institut Coopératif Desjardins*, a cooperative association formed for educational purposes under the new Act respecting Cooperative Associations of Quebec. Its members are the *Caisses Populaires* and the various organizations forming part of the Desjardins Movement. The association is a non-profit organization and any excess of income over expenditures is to be used for the formation of a reserve fund and for the granting of scholarships.

The architecture of a residential centre for adult education must meet precise and essential requirements which, in the opinion of the program experts of *l'Institut*, are basically different from the demands of a motel or hotel. This centre has been conditioned to the education which will be given to adults. This aspect was taken into account in the architecture and the arrangement of the buildings. Nothing has been spared to induce adults to study and think, without effort or compulsion. *L'Institut* is in a position to accommodate in individual rooms, and to give meals to, eighty-eight trainees during periods varying from a few days to a few weeks and more. It has conference rooms equipped with audio-visual equipment, role-playing facilities, space for outdoor lectures, an auditorium and recreation hall, a technical library, exhibition sections, a great number of living rooms to facilitate communication or exchange of ideas, and grounds in which to take walks, etc. A pedagogic commission formed of specialists in adult education is working on the intellectual and teaching aspects of *l'Institut*.

The methods used in the various training and learning programs are all centred around the term "group participation," and are based on the principles of human relations and interaction among the participants in the group. The role of the resource person or of the professor is not that of presenting a lecture or a recitation, but one of counselling—a person who can reveal new avenues of learning and encourage the group to take them. "The teacher is not the 'leader,' but a learner like the others in the group." (Bonner, *Group Dynamics*.) The emphasis is therefore on the "learning process" rather than on the "sole giving of knowledge." The relations between the participants and the resource personnel as well as the inter-relation among the participants are therefore a constant preoccupation of the Institute. The buildings of the Institute have been constructed in accordance with the principle of this "learning process." A special effort has been made in order to create numerous small areas which encourage spontaneous conversation and discussion among the participants, and between the participants and the resource persons.

The facilities are available, first of all to the personnel and leaders of the various organizations which make up the Desjardins Movement and the cooperative movement; secondly, to other organizations whose aims and objectives are of a social or professional nature; thirdly, to all adult groups. The Institute is also opened to trainees from developing countries and has organized an international section. It is readily understandable that the Desjardins Group, which comprises assets of over a billion dollars belonging to more than one and a half million members mainly of the working classes, and administered by more than *fifteen thousand* directors and several thousand permanent staff members, should take an acute interest in the professional formation of its staff and the education of all its members.

But what of its responsibility with respect to the other phases of activity within the community? Suffice it to say that this group, called in

French a movement, because of its cooperative nature, its strength and its influence in French Canada, acknowledges its responsibility in the field of adult education generally and in the giving of aid to underdeveloped countries. The Minister of the Department of Education of Quebec said on the occasion of the inauguration of *l'Institut Desjardins*: "It is indeed most fortunate that the Desjardins Group, one of the most important pieces of our social fabric, one of the first intermediate bodies to have taken root in this Province, at the same time, one of those bodies possessing the largest number of members, should have been the first to establish institutions which I consider supremely important in acquainting our people with the new freedom and its accrued responsibilities. For if the function of the State in the field of adult education is necessarily important, I wish, nevertheless, to affirm that the initiative must remain with private enterprises." The sum total of the activity of the Desjardins Group rests on a respect for the integrity of the individual and the supremacy of service over profit.

Deeply inscribed in the context of present-day Quebec and Canada, *l'Institut Coopératif Desjardins*, originating from a popular movement, believes that the only way to insure the survival of a democracy which is becoming more and more organic, during a period when social and political power rests increasingly in the hands of technocrats who can sway at will a fickle population, is to procure for adults an education which permits them to play an adequate part in the life of the community. In fact, a society which lacks faith in its citizens will not progress adequately. The most humble worker has an inalienable right to respect and to effort without being subjected to the condescension of those who possess the knowledge and who use it too often to humiliate the less fortunate. And then, why not admit the fact that too many of our intellectuals and scholars have the tendency to enshrine themselves in their ivory towers where they invite only those who think like them, leaving to politicians the responsibility of corresponding with the working classes. It is to these that *l'Institut Desjardins* wishes to offer the facilities of a centre of education and formation where they can, in all leisure, apply themselves to self-promotion. *L'Institut Desjardins* by gathering together all these intermediate groups renders an essential contribution in the formation required to face a social appeal which will bring about a pooling of all creative energies and a knowledgeable participation in planning. Thus, together with *l'Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes* and *le Conseil d'Orientation Economique du Québec, l'Institut Coopératif Desjardins* participates in the establishment of an education centre for community development officers for whom a series of courses or sessions are planned next year.

Our projects and undertakings are numerous. In order to render man capable of facing a changing world where values are constantly questioned, to give him composure, and team spirit, and most important, to give him the necessary understanding of his own humanity, we must reconstruct him deeply. We wish to promote the revitalization and if possible the rebirth of intermediate bodies, small and large, by stressing cooperative bodies; we wish to train leaders out of those who come from popular classes and are able to communicate with them, leaders steeped in the respect of the individual and capable of working on a team. We wish to contribute in making our people conscious of the dimensions of our problems and in applying themselves to the solution. We wish to bring our elite to a realization of the truths reflected by our community and of the preoccupations of our people. We wish to foster cooperation in this perfect school of democracy, to combat a sickly individualism, to affect a rapprochement of social classes, and to assist, if possible, underdeveloped countries so that they may learn to help themselves after having studied cooperation and community organization with us.

Need for Innovative Schools for Adults

ALEX SIM (1964)

The standard educational institutions are devoting themselves more and more to technological matters to the point where engineering, physical and social, must give way to other arts.

If every civilization builds before it dies its own monument, it is interesting to speculate (assuming for a moment that we are doomed), in this age of building, which of our artifacts will be selected by future historians or archeologists as the most massively irrelevant to the requirements of a society in crisis. The city itself is a candidate. So are airfields now built midway between cities they were to connect. But surely the most likely choice for monumental status is the modern university and its ancillary and tributary school systems. For it, as much as the modern state whose servant master the school is, made serious claim to omniscience in our time. It has put incalculable resources at the disposal of development of an advanced material civilization without balancing leadership in aesthetics and social ethics.

An unhurried examination of the past would show how sensitive the school has been to change; how it has at one time shored up a defunct regime; how at another time it sheltered explosive social forces; how in times of strict authority the school seemed allied with the abuse of power and worked repressively on the human spirit; how in times of stress, when rival values struggled for men's minds, schools were created and maintained to espouse each cause in conflict.

The school is always an instrumentality of a social order. A school is never neutral "just teaching facts," for the seeming innocuous inculcation of facts and basic skills in itself is highly selective. For instance, in a slum the school will teach arithmetic, but it is not likely to illustrate by calculating interest rates charged by the local loan shark. A teacher who did would be considered (in Canada at least) a trouble maker dabbling in politics. Yet the teacher who neglects such illustrations is no less committed to a political position.

Schools, or if schools as such do not exist, the educational process, inevitably serve some social cause, or some social class or other.

New schools must be conceived and put into orbit and on a crisis schedule. It is with this in mind that I turn to the idea of small residential centres that would, in their various ways, ideologically linked but organizationally separate, seek to meet the demands of the times.

Residential adult education is simply an expression to describe a special environment for adults who are learning. It is a subdivision of adult education (itself a segment of the process of continuous learning) in which grown-ups live in a communal setting to devote their undivided time and attention to education. We speak of informal education, for some adults live in college dormitories as they pursue some formal programmes of learning.

The residence, as an environment, is only one environment within other environments. The residence is located geographically upon a certain terrain, it is socially a part of a region and a community and it is enfolded in a contemporary culture. Within time and place it is a manifestation of the epoch, it is itself a cultural deposit, working in the environment, and as an educational institution working on the environment. We assume, of course, the centre (as we shall call the residential adult educational school or college) does have some contemporary relevance. No doubt even the more irrelevant educational activity serves some purpose. But we look for centres, and will argue for their creation, that are potent forces that will set off a reaction, establish a process of fermentation: a culture within a culture.

Of course going to school away from home is not a new idea. The ancient monasteries led the way long ago. What is new is the rapid proliferation of residential centres and the endless number of uses to which they are put.

The monastery, as an early model of the residential school, manifestly was for the elite. The university, in early times, continued in this role; even yet, despite its rapid extension, it offers specialized training for the few. But the means of processing individuals for positions of usefulness and power have changed. Formerly a general education was considered befitting someone who would be, first, a man of refinement and culture, and, second, an operative in the social order. Or to put it more bluntly and yet more subtly, he was to be a gentleman. Then he would build bridges, or run empires, or play some other socially useful role within the rules of the game.

Now a knowledge of Greek or Latin is not considered a prerequisite to a useful career, or to gentlemanly conduct. A general education is scarcely deemed suitable for a woman who must work too. As the universities, residential or not, become more involved in teaching grades and professions, the task of general education is, by default, falling on other shoulders. Part of this burden has been taken up by the mass media and that aspect of mobility once gracefully known as travel. The residential centre is sharing in carrying this burden, but it could do much, much more.

The Canadian Situation

The Canadian experience in residential adult education goes back to pioneer days, if generic origins are sought, when the religious camp meeting and the political campaign brought people from far and wide to listen to a famous evangelist or prominent politician. The religious rally lasted for days, the political rally for hours. The camp meeting had a residential character. But because of its high emotionality, it can hardly be taken as a precursor to the present movement.

Closer links can be found in formal camping, which developed after World War I. Under the leadership of the YMCA, programs were developed in woodland settings which emphasized group achievement and had certain intellectual content.[1] This was in contrast to the Scout movement which came out of the Boer War, where the emphasis was on individual achievement and out-of-door skills.

The adult education movement did not come out of these origins, although the student Christian organizations and other reconstruction and reconciliation groups did provide personnel who gained their early experience in these settings. More importantly the stimulus of ideas and methods came from the British co-operatives and workers' education carried in large part to Canada in the minds and aspirations of immigrants. The agricultural extension movements in the United States were also influential in Canadian adult education.[2]

The above sketch refers exclusively to English-speaking Canada. In French-speaking Canada, the Roman Catholic church was influential, and Catholic action, particularly in the youth sector, gave students and workers important political and social experience. Since World War II the labour, farmer and co-operative movements have generated their own powerful impulses toward a dynamic educational movement.

In the past Canadians have been enthusiastic "importers" of things, people and ideas. They are reticent, too, about trying new ideas themselves and, when they have been tried, of valuing them highly. It is only when faced by fantastic spatial and climatic conditions, or by problems of bi-culturalism, that innovations have been notable. The use of radio and television in education,[3] schools in lumber and construction camps,[4] bicultural seminars;[5] these have been distinctively Canadian. The residential idea received its early impulse from Denmark,[6] was influenced by the short term residential college in the United Kingdom and continental

Europe, and was overshadowed by the massively expensive Kellogg centres established on the campus of several American universities.[7]

Tracing social origins is always fascinating, but it should be enough here to deal with recent times. Since the establishment of the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1935, an increasing number of adult education events (leaving aside for the moment the question of their educational character) have been held in residence. That is to say, they have been events for people gathered from far afield, sometimes from the entire country, to live in residence and to pursue a topic of mutual concern.

The majority of these events were not held, and still are not held in centres especially designed and maintained for residential adult education. They were held in hotels, in colleges and boarding schools during vacation time, even in large private residences. They were held in summer hotels and summer camps in the off season, when it was too cold for holiday patrons, and yet not quite cold enough to discourage the ardent adult educators. More recently, residential centres have been built for adult education purposes.

The largest of these is the Banff School of Fine Arts, operated by the University of Alberta on a fine site in a national park in the Rocky Mountains.[8] Its original and continuing purpose is to operate a summer school in the arts. A large part of the clientele is from the teaching profession. Here they upgrade their qualifications and salaries. But in the remaining ten months, in the same plant, the Banff School of Fine Arts operates a centre for continuing education. Its accommodation now reaches several hundred. Groups of widely diverse purposes are found there, simultaneously pursuing ends that are more or less educational in nature. We call them conferences, but more of that later.

The two finest centres, architecturally speaking, each accommodating less than one hundred people, are owned by the co-operatives. They offer courses for co-operative personnel, but since this does not provide full occupancy, groups are admitted in what amounts to off season periods.

The largest number of centres are operated by the churches. Trade unions maintain two centres. Neither one, as we say here, is winterized, so that they are operable for about four months in the year.

These centres likewise serve institutional purposes first, and outside groups second. The availability of these plants to outside groups is rationalized by the organizations, one supposes, in several senses. It is good public relations, and it makes good business sense to keep plant and staff at full working capacity. But in most cases there is no educational responsibility taken for the content of educational work that occurs in these so-called educational centres. In an educational centre the size and quality of a library is inevitably a measure of educational standards. Some of these centres have no library, in others it is pitifully small and unstaffed. All that most centres offer is a catering service with classrooms available.

Significantly, a large proportion of these events in residence are now held in hotels and motels. Strictly commercial in motive, they still have a large educational clientele. Of course they cost a bit more, some are more comfortable. They may have less classroom and education equipment. Even so, two commercial hostelries have modified their plants to also provide good classroom facilities.

An exception in this trend (to me) of educational irresponsibility are a few of the universities, where extension departments provide consultative services for residential groups. In some cases credit courses are offered by universities to professional groups coming back for refresher or upgrading courses, but the bulk of the events which are vaguely adult educational in character are called conferences. Because of this distinction between a course and a conference we cannot delay any longer talking about the educational content of the events that occur under the rubric "residential adult education."

The sad truth is that as yet in Canada the majority of events occurring in residential centres are not educational seminars (regretfully no statistics are available), but conferences. They may, and often do, have an educational effect, but in a general overlay of business transaction, or production planning. When courses are offered outside the context of a conference they are regularly job oriented. Economic benefits are expected to accrue to the individual and thus to society. In the impending age of leisure there is still a small proportion of events in residential centres that are simply for enjoyment, or enrichment. There are still few courses where knowledge for its own sake is sought and offered. Two interesting exceptions (there are undoubtedly others) are two seminars that have sprung up in Ontario: one as part of the Shakespearean Festival at Stratford, the other as part of the Shaw Festival at Niagara-on-the-Lake. Both use commercial residential facilities.

The conference is perhaps a transitional institution, allowing us to pursue knowledge while appearing, in the puritanical tradition, to be doing something more utilitarian. It also permits the work oriented, but work weary, to take a holiday, at someone else's expense, in the guise of holding an annual meeting. How convenient the mountain or the seashore to play, while appearing to work. When the play is as serious as work, as it often is, then even the play is justified.

The border is vague and, like the one between Canada and the United States, undefended, between the seminar, which is presumably educational in purpose, and the conference or annual meeting, which is presumably deliberative and administrative. The growth of management training has added to the demand for facilities and has blunted the edges between education and training. In everyday use training is the "in" activity; group dynamics and sensitivity courses are called "training" labs. Though often offered by universities, they do not stress the acquisition of knowledge. One does not deplore a decline in substantive emphasis, as the old formal lecture and discussion formula was often so sterile and unchallenging. The training lab certainly involves people, and the emphasis on feeling and the here and now was a needed corrective.

Nevertheless, it is more than a semantic quibble to deplore the increased use of the word "training." Where a system of rewards and punishment conditions man or beast to perform wisely or sensitively, or just efficiently, there is something less than the involvement we look for and expect in fostering maximum human development.

The Catalytic Effect of the Residential Setting

It will be seen from what has been said I am not enamoured with present efforts in residential adult education in North America. The times require change and innovation much more sweeping than anything we have yet seen.

It is recognized that the main thrust in expansion of schools and universities has been toward satisfying the voracious manpower demands of the industrial state. The larger demands of world citizenship and of developing the creative capacities to live in a post-industrial society is not being recognized, and therefore is being met only by inadvertence. A new approach is needed of living within a learning experience, and of learning from a living experience.

So far as the future goes, I see little likelihood of government or private donors initiating new programmes. There is more hope that a foundation or a university might. But it is doubtful if experimentation will come from any of these sources. It is more likely that an abandoned farm house, here and there an old store with its upstairs apartments (long since marked for the urban re-developer's hammer) will shelter these experimentations.

This limitation of resources is regrettable. For the physical environment, as we saw last summer in EXPO '67 in Montreal, can contribute handsomely to the feeling tone of a living experience. If fire was ever invented, which is unlikely, the spark was struck in some drafty cave, not in a well-equipped lab. Perhaps it would have come sooner if the physical conditions had been right. But pioneers cannot wait for all augurs and all conditions to be propitious. Experimentation must go on as it can.

If the immediate physical environment in which the group in residence is enclosed must be disregarded, because it is not, or is not yet, aesthetically satisfying, the character of the group itself, of those who are brought together under one roof, must be emphasized. For it must become an organically unified community of individuals.

These individuals, brought together, or choosing to be together, become elements of a new fusion. But in the future a different synthesis must be sought. We can learn much from the Oxbridge tutorial system, from the Quaker work camps, and from human relations "labs." The emphasis must be less on the here and now, less "how I feel about you when you say that"; much more on how the group and its individual members have survived in the outer world from which they have taken a sort of respite, how they perceive the outer world, what the outer world should become. The relationships in groups, if they range from love to hate, from anarchy to tight conforming decision making, from lassitude to high participation and involvement, are manifestations of the outer rings of reality: the region, the state, the world. Or at least these experiences within the centre will be representations of the outside world. With good understanding the outside world will be more than mere shadows on the walls of the cave, more than absurd shuffle and noise. The clamour of war can be clearly heard, and the sickening cries of the doomed. The steady drip at the faucets of well-established institutions can also be heard as the drop-outs make their way to new boundaries. They abandon the institutions which are no longer relevant, yet well entrenched and well heeled. Within, the educational centre walls are paper thin; the outside world is close. It is no abstraction but the data of today's inquiry.

The outside world, piped in by television and newspaper, is represented by visual means, or by the reported experience of those present, or the reports of journalists and social scientists. These soon become an intriguing puzzle. It quickly becomes an integral part of the school environment. This is when study (in a more conventional sense) begins. One member of the group may be working his way through the fiscal policy of an African state. Another may be intrigued with religious practices of an ancient civilization. One or two may join in, to listen or to help digging. The fabric and texture of the total life in the centre is influenced subtly by these sub-groups in search. Others may be resting, or thinking, or painting, or going out to work day by day, or doing the work-a-day work of the centre. They too have their effects. They too absorb the wave lengths of inquiry which come from those who are in the act of investigation and search.

The total effect of the individual and the collective acts within the centre constitute a happening. It is like a wedding in a Polish village which goes on, and on. Somehow the work is done. Somehow the food is prepared. Somehow there is sleep and privacy. But there is a swirling event which draws in, and releases individuals on the go. A great living city in festival mood, its museums and restaurants open, its streets full of people whose faces are open to strangers, presents this type of atmosphere which the modern residential school would strive for.

It is difficult to find models for such a centre. Perhaps a good nursery school, with its little centres of creative building, with its coming together for story and song and rest, presents us with a type of school adults today need quite as much as children. Adults need to enquire, need to wonder, need to contemplate, need to live easily with others they trust and like. The old extended family, even now disappearing in rural places, offered this type of environment. When the extended family was governed by love and respect rather than a glowering autocrat, it was a good kind of school. It is now gone, but replacement is needed which is less oriented to the past, more in tune with the present.

There is time and money now for centres not oriented to production. Technology looks after so much, it permits this type of dreaming and doing. No doubt a post-industrial society somehow needs the psychic renewal, or the individuals who live in that type of society need renewal that does not come from gold, alcohol or drugs, stereotyped world tours or situational comedies on television.

Let us remember the lessons of two decades of affluence. They are more puzzling than a decade of total war or a decade of depression. The social problems multiply, it seems, as the physical problems recede. We need educational centres where people can develop a clear-eyed view of the world they live in.

It is well known that social institutions, and particularly those involved in child rearing and socialization, do not respond quickly to social change. Yet these institutions, including the family, do so much to mould attitudes and personality. It is no surprise that the human beings who come out of environments that are sterile should respond to change by retreating into negative hostility and into sterile patterns of behaviour.

At the same time institutions, new patterns of behaviour, new schools do spring up. These are brought into being by a few imaginative individuals. The effects of these experiments ramify widely into society and even into established programmes and institutions.

In adult education there is, it seems, much less of this experimentation, though admittedly there is some, especially in human relations in industry. There is not the same measure of exploration in the areas that are not production oriented. We need schools that are as *avant garde* as contemporary sculpture or architecture, that are in tune to the same emotional impulses as those which set off new trends in art and music.

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(13) The Needs of Rural Adult Education

GARY DICKINSON (1969)

I

Adult education is primarily an urban phenomenon with the bulk of the institutions and agencies offering programs, as well as the majority of participants, being found in the larger population centres. Moreover, the discrepancy between the frequency of participation in adult education by urban and rural residents is disproportionate to the percentage of the population living in such areas. This may contribute to widening the gap between the social and economic conditions of the two groups as adult education facilitates social change and development, and those processes are impeded where there is little or no provision for participation in educational activities.

The organization of adult education programs for rural people and their subsequent participation is inhibited chiefly by factors associated with population size and density. There are relatively fewer opportunities for participation available to rural than to urban residents so that fewer of them are able to participate. The sparsity and widespread geographical distribution of the rural population makes it difficult to organize programs using traditional approaches. In addition, the maintenance of such programs on an economic basis is not always feasible as rural residents generally have lower incomes than people who live in urban areas and therefore are less able to pay the fees necessary to support programs on a self-sustaining basis. Despite such inhibiting factors, it should be possible to increase participation in educational activities by rural adults if their personal characteristics and social organization are known and if programs are planned and organized accordingly.

II

The organization of adult education in British Columbia is inhibited by a widespread distribution of the rural population coupled with a mountainous topography. The province includes a total land area of more than 359,000 square miles, and the majority of the 1,843,427 total residents in 1966 were clustered in the southwest corner. In that year 313,325 people, or 16.9 per cent of that total population, lived in areas classified as 'unorganized' and an additional 21,493 (1.1 per cent) resided in organized settlements of less than 1,000 inhabitants. The rural population as a percentage of the total population has declined steadily since 1941; nevertheless, there are still some 200,000 people in British Columbia who could be designated as rural adults since they are twenty years of age or older and live in unorganized territory or in settlements of less than 1,000 people. That group forms the potential clientele for rural adult education programs.

Programs for rural residents are provided chiefly by night schools operated by the local school districts and by the Extension Service of the provincial Department of Agriculture. Those agencies offer programs in most parts of the province and their activities are generally the most visible ones to rural residents. Other agencies and organizations occasionally offer adult education programs in rural areas, but their influence is not so widespread and their activities are usually confined to special interest groups or specific geographic localities.

Until very recently the extent and nature of participation in rural adult education in British Columbia was unknown. In fact, little information about the general characteristics of rural adults in the province was available until recently as they have not been studied extensively except for the decennial census. Beginning in 1966, however, a series of socio-economic surveys has studied the residents in fifteen rural areas, covering all but the most sparsely settled regions. The objective of the surveys has been to describe and analyze the rural population resident in unorganized territory in terms of significant social and economic characteristics. Interviews have been conducted with 2,766 rural household heads, of whom 28.7 per cent were classified as farm while the remainder were engaged in non-farm occupations. The number of interviews in each area ranged from 96 to 382 at an average of 184.4 interviews per area. Included in the interview schedule were questions pertaining to participation in adult education, contacts with the agricultural extension service, and interest in further education or training. Those data are used herein to describe the current participation patterns of rural adults as well as their desire for continuing education.

III

Previous research has established that rural residents participate less frequently in adult education than do urban residents. In addition, the socio-economic surveys conducted in British Columbia suggest that there is considerable variation among rural areas in the frequency of participation. Data were sought respecting participation in adult education courses during the three year period preceding the interview, and 435 respondents (15.7 per cent) had taken one or more courses which would indicate that approximately five per cent had participated each year. The number of non-farm respondents who participated (15.9 per cent) was only slightly higher than the percentage of farm participants 15.4 per cent). Among the fifteen areas studied, participation ranged from 9.8 to 32.3 per cent of all respondents, from 7.4 to 24.2 per cent of the farm respondents, and from 6.5 to 32.3 per cent of the non-farm household heads. There is no consistent pattern of participation in relation to the geographic location of the fifteen survey areas that could be distinguished.

Some opportunities are available through the Extension Service of the British Columbia Department of Agriculture for farmers to participate in educational programs that are not usually relevant to the non-farm population. A special analysis was made of farmer contacts with extension agents in three of the areas surveyed. Several contact methods were examined including visits and telephone calls to the office of the extension agent, farm visits by the extension agent, agricultural meetings and field days, mailed announcements or bulletins, farm radio and television programs, and newspaper articles.

The farm respondents reported that they used an average of 3.71 different contact methods during the preceding year, and they used more of the impersonal than the personal types of contact involving direct communication between agent and farmer. Farm newspaper articles, and farm radio or television programs, were both used by more than 90 per cent while mailed material was read by 81 per cent of the farmers. Of the personal contact methods, 35 per cent of the farm respondents reported visiting the extension agent in his office, 34 per cent attended agricultural meetings or field days, 17 per cent made telephone calls to the agent, and 16 per cent reported farm visits by him. Personal contacts through individual or group methods are generally more effective than are impersonal contacts in disseminating information and facilitating the adoption of improved agricultural practices, but in rural British Columbia the more effective methods were the least frequently used.

IV

Participation in adult education may be observed in all segments of rural society, but its extent and nature varies among different groups of people so that the socio-economic characteristics of adults are related to their participation. In general, those with more formal schooling participate more than do those with less, younger adults participate more than do older adults, and people who work in occupations having a higher social status tend to participate more than those in lower status occupations. Place of residence seems to influence participation, with distance from a centre offering programs setting broad limits on participation rates even in a non-rural area. Participants in other types of activities such as formal organizations tend also to be more active participants in adult education.

Research would suggest that in rural areas, where overall participation in adult education tends to be low, there will nevertheless be certain groups who participate more than others. In rural British Columbia a study was conducted of 126 participants in adult education and a like number of non-participants using data gathered in five survey areas. The participants in comparison with the non-participants had more schooling, their wives had more schooling, their children were more likely to have completed high school, and more of the respondents had job training. In addition, the participants worked in more prestigious occupations and had higher job earnings than did the non-participants. When the characteristics, education and age of the respondent were controlled, only participation in community organizations and occupational prestige remained as significant variables related to participation in adult education. Eight items were used to measure the attitudes of respondents toward change, and in all but one case the participants had more favourable attitudes than did the non-participants. When education and age were controlled, however, only two items differentiated between the participants and non-participants; the participants were more willing to give up their spare time to further their education, and they were more aware of a need for further education in order to ensure satisfactory employment in the future.

Another study of participation in adult education was conducted in a specific community, the Pemberton Valley. In general, the findings reported by Goard and Dickinson with respect to the socio-economic characteristics of participants were supported in Pemberton, but data were also collected pertaining to the community social structure. The respondents who were born in Pemberton, had lived there for their entire lifetime, and had more kinship ties participated more than did the newer residents in the valley. It appeared that the longer-established residents were the most influential in determining the kinds of courses offered which were generally peripheral to the needs expressed by other residents. The relationship between distance and participation in adult education was also studied in Pemberton by dividing the community into five geographic locality groups. Participation decreased as distance from the night school increased, with no participants from the most distant locality group which was some twenty-five miles distant from the school.

Just as the socio-economic characteristics of people are related to participation in adult education, they seem also to be associated with the frequency and nature of farmer contacts with extension agents who are the chief source of information and education for the rural farm population. Extension contacts were more frequent when the farmer had more education, lived closer to the service centers, participated more in community organizations, and had a higher gross income from the sale of farm products. The data suggest that the farmers who had the greatest need for educational assistance actually received the least help, and this apparently was the case also in the non-farm population with respect to participation in adult education.

V

There is generally a low rate of participation in adult education in rural British Columbia, and the lower socio-economic groups participate the least. There is some evidence, however, that considerable interest exists on the part of rural adults wanting to take adult education programs. In the socio-economic surveys, respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they wanted further education or training, and if so, in what subject matter area. The responses suggest a rather large potential for future participation in adult education.

47.7 per cent of the respondents wanted further education or training, and that desire was expressed by 46.0 per cent of the farm compared to 48.4 per cent of the non-farm household heads. The number of household heads wanting to continue their education ranged from 32.9 to 61.5 per cent among the fifteen areas.

Mechanical repairwork was the most frequently requested kind of training with 210 or 15.9 per cent of the total responses. This was followed in descending frequency by agriculture with 194 requests (14.7 per cent), academic education (10.8 per cent), and welding or machinist trades (10.7 per cent). Fifty-six respondents said that they would take any kind of training program made available to them. In most cases, the request for further education or training was related to improving the competence of the individual in his present occupation. Farmers most often requested agricultural education, or wanted a course on mechanical repairwork so that they would be able to repair their own machinery. Future participation in adult education is apparently perceived by most rural residents as a means of advancing in an occupation, which is consistent with their motivation for current participation.

VI

There is a wide discrepancy between the number of rural adults who participate in educational programs and the number who desire to continue their education. The data presented here suggest that some 100,000 rural adults want to participate, but only about 5,000 seem to be participating in adult education each year. The existing institutions and agencies offering programs have not been able to serve adequately the educational needs of the rural adult population.

Those rural adults who would benefit most from educational programs are the least adequately served. The poor and the less educated segments of the rural population participate the least, and it seems that they both reject and are rejected by the two agencies which provide most of the opportunities for adult education in rural areas. The night schools traditionally have offered courses designed for the middle class and residents of urban centres within school districts, while the agricultural extension service appears to contact chiefly the better educated and more prosperous farmers. Few educational opportunities have been designed specifically for the disadvantaged rural adult, thus the courses offered have little relevance or utility with respect to his needs and aspirations.

The existing agency with the greatest potential for offering programs to rural adults would seem to be the school district adult education programs. Night school courses could be decentralized more often to smaller communities using such facilities as community halls. Some courses might be offered in private dwellings to take advantage of informal interaction patterns within neighbourhood groups. Administrators of night school programs could also use a greater variety of instructional methods similar to those employed by the agricultural extension service. The widely dispersed nature of the rural population suggests that a greater use of individual methods as against the more commonly used group methods would increase the educational opportunities available to rural adults.

The content of rural adult education programs should provide practical assistance in dealing with problems posed by the rural environment. There is currently a need for education regarding land use planning and environmental control for adult farmers in which other farmers are used as the instructors and the program content deals with such topics as land, livestock, and farm business management. Such programs can play an integral role in the social and economic development of rural people, but the existing programs and methods are not yet adequate to cope with the needs.

IV PROGRAMS AND EXPERIENCES

One of the notable Royal Commissions in Canada, the Fowler Commission on Broadcasting, began its report with the comment that most of its attention would be on programming, and all else, including finance and such matters as relations with government were "merely housekeeping." This is an emphasis that impresses us as well, and Sections IV, V and VI are essentially about program.

Where and how do these programs originate?

There is no single or simple answer. Nor does the creation of program always seem to follow general rules or typologies or modes of planning set out by authorities on curriculum such as C. O. Houle, Malcolm Knowles or Virginia Griffin.

Much of the program content has been a response to stresses and impulses in the social setting, (the social character of the 1960's outlined in Section 11.)

Much of the content arose from the concerns, functions and character of institutions that sponsored adult education—corporations or trade unions or women's groups or ethnic societies. Some institutions such as universities contributed their particular kinds of content along with their processes and standards. Self-directed learners chose programs in response to individual hopes or needs, selected from what was accessible to them and some began to create their own programs. Theirs is the exhilaration and struggle described by the self-educated playwright Sean O'Casey in his autobiography *Pictures in the Hallway* when he first stopped reading and copying other writers and began to speak for himself. "He shook himself. He was staying too long in the Hallway looking at the pictures. All done by others, very beautiful and strong but all done by others. He'd have to start now doing things for himself. Create things out of his own life. He'd begin to make pictures himself: ay pictures, too, that would be worth hanging in the Hallway for other people to see."

Some programs and experiences, of course, carried on and carried forward traditions. And no shame in that. Others, if not true innovations or mutations, moved several paces forward, or sideways, or sounded new depths. Education for deprived groups, education through service, education through social action, education through travel were all featured during the decade.

It was a time of new programs and new institutions or of established institutions putting out fresh shoots. It was a time when there was some attempt to reach approved standards but also a drive to satisfy needs that went beyond conventional wisdom.

Some of the most imaginative programs and experiences have not yet been described or analyzed. That must come later. However, examples abound and the problem of selection was not so much what to put in but what to lay aside.

(1) Innovative Programs in Some Established Institutions

Many of the programs most effective in meeting emergent needs of the 1960's did not require new structures but arose inside well established institutions such as libraries, schools, and churches.

Libraries: Not Receptacles for Books but Programs for Democracy

CHARLES D. KENT (1962)

You will remember in that wonderful novel of Henry James, *Portrait of A Lady*, how Isabel had wanted to stay up and chat with the gentlemen after dinner, and how her aunt would not permit it.

"You were very right to tell me then," said Isabel. "I don't understand it, but I'm very glad to know it."

"I shall always tell you," her aunt answered, "whenever I see you taking what seems to me too much liberty."

"Pray do; but I don't say I shall always think your remonstrance just."

"Very likely not. You're too fond of your own ways."

"Yes, I think I'm very fond of them. But I always want to know the things one shouldn't do."

"So as to do them?" asked her aunt.

"So as to choose," said Isabel.

Isabel was unable to understand why she could not stay up—her aunt called it "too much liberty". She admitted that she was fond of her own ways, not, as her aunt supposed, in order to do the things she shouldn't do, but in order to choose, not between one bad thing and another, but between good and evil. The problem was basically a moral one and Isabel wanted to prepare herself in order to make a choice: a preparation that required education. Education was to her the ability to choose, and at any level it was for her a moral choice. Jean Paul Sartre carries the idea a little further in *L'Etre et le Néant*.

"Freedom is freedom to choose but not freedom not to choose
For not to choose is to choose not to choose."

The responsibility for choice and the urgent necessity for it—implying a positive good choice—is insistent in Sartre's statement. But how are we to make a choice? Isabel implies that she must learn through experience what to do; how to make her choice. One of the greatest features of James' book as a novel is that Isabel's choices are often wrong simply because she did not have enough experience or knowledge, for that is what knowledge is basically, experience. Thus, it may be said that Isabel was not well enough educated to face the problems brought on by Osmond. Ultimately she became "educated" and by, as we say, "the hard way", but at what cost to herself and her friends! Was there not an easier way? Could she not have crammed a considerable body of experience into her educative years. Would this have been enough? Has this ever been enough? Is this not what is being done today basically in education? A person goes to school for 10-15 years and that's it—he or she is expected to know everything. And for the rest of their natural lives.

We have probably unwittingly committed a twin error—firstly, of trying to cram everything needed for a long life into a short period of formal training; secondly, of neglecting the continued education of ourselves as adults. Our error lies in regarding education as a static thing. Facts are facts and the hell with it seems to be our attitude. Facts are not facts. Things learned cannot be forgotten or filed away as ends in themselves. We only have to read some of the ideas of Heisenberg and his theories of probabilities to realize this. Information is dynamic, relative, and has to be reinterpreted and re-examined in the light of changing experience. New ideas are brought forth and have to be investigated in the glare of past experience and knowledge. Learning has to rejuvenate itself. Schools and colleges, therefore, are inadequate in themselves for knowledge. At best, they are only a means to an end and that means lies in the field of developing the ability to choose. The facts, the information learned are really only practice runs with the disciplining thinking techniques as equipment. Schools provide an inkling of life, a preparation for life. They are not life itself. Many things learned as information and facts in school had best be forgotten.

Thus we should learn early that values and ideas can be given away. Money and possessions can not be given away so therefore it has finite value. Not so with values and ideas—the things that schools should develop. By so doing, too, and by continuing it after schooling the person, as the existentialists suggest, develops himself; for only through positive choice can people become better. This is the prime reason for groups and for group discussions—to develop, not individuals, but personalities and to develop these through group activities. By such a parallel development with other people we become truly educated. And each man becomes a cultural entity. As Robert M. Cay says, "To produce a whole man poetry is as important as science, philosophy as physics, art as technology, history as psychology, and vice versa. For an educated person is not only a head but a heart and a hand, one in whom thinking, feeling, and doing, are in general accord and balance. And it is an error to assume, as some do, that science is of the head merely, literature of the heart, and technique of the hand. This is a fallacious division. You may not divide the seamless coat of learning. The spectres of nuclear fission and Marxism are driving us back to the ancient belief that education is in principle and obligation moral. Morality does not consist in ordering conduct by rule of reason merely, for reason must be tempered by imagination, taste, and sympathy, and tested by action. Like potential energy it must become dynamic to show as energy at all."

This has been often called the age of specialization and surely specialization cannot go too far in our development of knowledge, but of what value is specialization if it ignores the foundations of life? It is hardly specialization then. Each of us should be able to do one job well but we should also understand how our particular activity fits into the scheme of things. The scholar, therefore, who knows everything about Greek verse is really not any use as a scholar unless he understands the position of Greek verse in life.

To return to education and our ability to choose. Our ability to choose is also linked with our form of democracy. Each man has the power to vote as he pleases—to use the secret ballot. Thus how he chooses is very important and how he makes up his mind to choose is also very important. His education and his opportunities for education are of paramount importance if a break is not to be made in the chain. Education—choice—democracy. Or the other way around. Democracy—choice—education. But always at the centre—choice. "Each man's mind is his very self." And in order to make adequate choices there must be information, knowledge, wisdom. Woodrow Wilson said something very wise once. "One should use all the brains one has, plus all the brains one can borrow." ("Books" could be substituted for "brains".)

William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience* says, p. 319,

> *"When a brother novice came to Saint Francis, saying: 'Father, it would be a great consolation to me to own a psalter, but even supposing that our general should concede to me this indulgence, still I should like also to have your consent.' Francis put him off with examples of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, pursuing the infidels in sweat and labor, and finally lying on the field of battle. 'So care not,' he said, 'for owning books and knowledge, but care rather for works of goodness.'*

Librarians would hardly endorse St. Francis' statement believing that knowledge and goodness are not incompatible and that in fact one leads to the other. Knowledge *is* goodness is the librarian's credo. Plato says somewhere that democracy without education is hypocrisy, without limitation. Without education—including adult education, and the public library is one of the main ingredients here, not only in itself for individuals but also because it serves so many groups and is, therefore, a kind of adult education for adult education–without education there can be no adequate democracy. Without information ideas in a democracy can be based only on opinion and opinion is not too far removed from prejudice.

When a democracy is established it follows automatically that libraries are established too. This is the democratic contract that democracy has with libraries. Too often when a public library is to be built it is put to a vote of the people in the same way as a new sewer or any other public work is put to a vote. Surely this is wrong in principle. We don't vote for democracy every election. This idea has been established. Thus, we should not vote for or against building a public library for that is like voting for or against voting, and thus democracy, every time an election comes up. Public libraries should be provided *per se*, as the very essence and machinery of democracy. Too often democracy and choice are not equated with education and the learning process. Too often by "education" is presumed the newspaper, radio, TV, etc., which are only convenient types of educational agencies and only in part educational, and schools, which again are only types of educational agencies and again only in part, at least, chronologically, educational agencies. (Schools, too, are not really democratic institutions. When they try to be–and fail as they must–the old progress vs tradition argument pops up. Schools can, however, *teach* democracy, pointing out the learning responsibilities involved.)

Of all educational institutions or forms the public library movement is the only one that embraces all ages, all standards of people. And probably of all educational agencies the public library is the least supported and the least considered. In short, it may be said that we, at least in democratic countries, are not achieving our ultimate aim because all the good work started by the schools is dissipated by no proper system of follow-up through adult educational agencies such as the public library. And make no mistake about it, the public library is the only large developed system of adult education that is still individual and personal. As Cyril Houle has said, "the library is, in many ways, the most fundamental of our adult education institutions". Most other schemes of adult education have a tendency towards doctrinaireness. This will be vehemently denied by adult educationalists, but the public library movement comes closest to the Christian ideal of people developing within themselves alone.

As I write this I am reminded of what Wayne and Shuster, the Canadian TV comedy team, said a few weeks ago, shaking their heads with a puzzled look on their faces–"to express something worthwhile we say out of this world". Perhaps that is what our hoped-for democracy is–worthwhile, but out of this world.

In the years to come some means must be found to develop public libraries to the point that they are spending at least as much as we do now on schools. The amount of money needed would be fantastic, but is it not also fantastic that we expect people to vote and decide intricate questions without sufficient knowledge? A lack of money may mean a lack of democracy. The real problem is, can the western world afford democracy? There are cogent reasons to believe that it cannot.

Poets at Parliament Street

ELIZABETH COLLEY (1969)

In January 1955 Toronto Public Libraries opened a branch at the junction of Gerrard and Parliament Streets in central Toronto. The building—a one-storied, dark-red brick structure with a flat roof—is set back from Parliament Street on an awkward-shaped lot. Its main doors lead onto a triangular piece of land pointing towards the busy intersection. This triangle has been cemented in, with a slight terraced effect, and boasts a piece of 'modern' sculpture on the upper level. The library is bounded on the north by Gerrard Street and on the south by a lane, beyond which are old family-size houses guarded by board and wire fences carrying scrawled warnings to "Beware of the dog". Cars and buses whizz along Gerrard; street-cars grind down Parliament.

One would hardly think this the place for a festival of the arts. Yet "on the patio" each summer Parliament Street Library holds a most successful festival of music, poetry and painting. On a warm spring or autumn evening one might well find "A Soirée on the Sidewalk" there. And even on chilly December evenings two performances nightly are necessary to accommodate everyone when carols sound and the Christmas story is enacted outside the library doors.

The person with the imagination, enthusiasm and perseverance to bring this about is Miss Sadie Jordan, the librarian in charge.

When she was appointed in 1957, her friends were relieved to hear her say, "Isn't it wonderful! Such an opportunity!" As she explains it now, they were inclined to feel sorry for her and looked upon her appointment as being rather in the nature of a demotion. For Parliament Street Library, although it had a top-quality collection, was located in what was considered to be a 'deprived' neighbourhood and was, to say the least, being used at less than full capacity.

Today anyone hearing of the accomplishments of Miss Jordan and her staff at the library would say someone had a brilliant brainwave when they appointed her.

At the time she knew a little about the Parliament Street community, having worked in a nearby library. The neighbourhood was one of the older districts of Toronto, which, like similar inner cores of most large cities, had fallen into slums, and been 'renewed' with a flurry of slum clearance and the building of subsidized apartment-blocks, leaving little back eddies of older houses, many of them rooming houses with frequently-changing residents. The people were largely of British stock, with a preponderance of Scots.

Over the years since then a good number of Italians and Greeks have been added, some Asiatics, some middle-Europeans and, just recently, some West Indians. From the beginning Miss Jordan believed that none of these were people to be either despised or patronized. The big difficulty as she saw it was that Toronto generally still looked upon the area as being a 'deprived' one – the housing had been renewed but the people themselves had not been allowed to climb out of the status of slum dwellers. Therefore her three main objectives have been: first, to make the people of the community feel that they are as good as anyone else; second, to make the rest of Metropolitan Toronto recognize this fact; and third, to present only such library programmes as naturally evolved from the community, not what anyone else felt the people might 'need'.

She knew the community a little. She was determined to know it much better. If people were not coming to the library, Sadie Jordan would go to them. She went out knocking on doors.

She talked to people in their homes, to anyone and everyone that would listen and whenever she could. She took book lists and library brochures, and talked about books and the delights of reading. She spoke, without doubt, about poetry – which she loves, and always can impart something of the pleasure she finds in it. She was frankly enthusiastic, and her enthusiasm is the kind that is catching. As any modern-day encyclopedia salesman could have told her, Miss Jordan was using a technique that 'works'. People began dropping into the library to see her, talk to her and the staff, explore the shelves of their library, and casually stop by for some of the library programmes.

Recently someone asked Miss Jordan wouldn't it have been easier to put a deposit of books in the places in the community where the people were already congregating – to take the library to them. Her answer was quick, and slightly heated: "I would rather knock on a **hundred** doors, and bring **one** person into the library than take a bunch of discarded books and give them to the people. You would be giving them a **sop**, indicating you don't think they are capable of using the whole resources of the library. If you get a person here, he will find just **what** the library has to offer."

So she continued to knock on doors – for over ten years. She got to know the community, listened to the people, made friends, and always she talked to them about books and the joys of reading.

In those early years, besides canvassing the neighbourhood she advertised books and the library in other ways. Even now a passerby on Parliament Street is apt to see a teenager carrying a sandwich board advertising some special event at the library. This stems from a competition held some years ago when Grade 10 pupils from nearby Jarvis Street Collegiate were asked to create posters for a competition to 'sell' books and the library. The resulting efforts were wonderful to see. "Ignorance is the basis of war – READ", exhorted one poster. "People who read, succeed"; "Spread the reading message to the man in the street"; "Enjoy reading at the Parliament Street Library"; "Who? What? Where? Read it at the Library"—said others. Each student had concocted his own message; one even sounded a note of doom with: "Read today, there may be NO tomorrow!" The posters were displayed in the library, but for a photograph the prizewinner was 'modelled', mounted on a sandwich board. Ever since, the idea has been used as a walking advertisement outside the library whenever possible.

And inside the library other things were going on. Miss Jordan discovered one staff member had a gift for reading aloud, in fact had been trained in the arts of speech. And, she thought, people generally were always wanting to read aloud or quote favourite passages from books. There had been play-reading in her previous library—why not use the natural talent at hand and try it here? So play-reading started at Parliament Street Library in 1958, and is still going strong today. Every second Monday from September to June, when the library closes at 8:30 in the evening a group (varying in size from 9 to 41) meets to read plays. Anyone can come—the evenings are advertised as "Free. Everybody welcome." Usually they choose three-act plays, which means pretty steady reading from 8:30 to 11:00, in order to finish the play in one evening. Everyone wants to read, indeed the pleasure of participation is what makes it worthwhile and keeps the enthusiastic group together. They are involved.

Out of this activity grew a number of others. One evening they read a Shaw play and the librarian brought people from Niagara-on-the-Lake to speak about the Shaw Festival held there. As the audience listened one elderly man sprang to his feet and said, "Why don't we hire a bus and go to it!" They did; and every year since then a busload, of old and young, goes off to join other Shaw enthusiasts at Niagara-on-the-Lake.

Shakespearean plays were read, of course; and from this several other activities originated. First was a decision to read other poetry, not just plays. In 1959 the library readers decided to read E. J. Pratt's long poem, "The Titanic". Pratt was then retired but still living in Toronto. They invited him to attend the reading, and he came. That evening was a real success, and not least for "the dean of Canadian poets" who found his work so demonstratively appreciated.

Another time the readers chose selections of poetry on that year's required reading list for Grade XIII, and were able to get Mr. Murray Davis of the Crest Theatre Foundation to come to introduce the poems. A typical library notice that season read:

An Evening of Verse
(Blank, Bloodthirsty and Pastoral)

In 1961 music was wedded to poetry, with an evening of "Elizabethan Poetry and Music"—the readings were enhanced by a chamber music group playing music for the recorder. If it seems strange that such a programme could be a success, at least Miss Jordan did not underestimate her community. In 1962 she put on a Chaucer evening—a member of the Faculty of English, University of Toronto, read Chaucer in the original, and was followed by the library readers giving Chaucer in a modern translation. Could a Chaucer evening be a success at Parliament Street or anywhere? It was.

But the classics did not have things all their way. One day a telephone call came for the librarian from a young man who had heard of the poetry readings. He was one of a group of young Toronto poets who had no place to meet. Could they meet in her library? Miss Jordan was delighted. The "Saturday Afternoon Poets" group was formed, and still meets every Saturday at Parliament Street Library. Some of the original members have gone on to wider audiences. At least one was 'discovered' —first by META and then by the CBC. But occasionally they drift back to a meeting even yet, to read their verses and to criticize and encourage the newer members.

Meanwhile these young poets, too, gave public performances in the library, sometimes joined by a local jazz group. Or they held a "Soirée on the Sidewalk", with poets reading poems, the high school band playing, and speakers talking on the art of poetry.

One year, as a special treat and inspiration, Miss Jordan was able to get Irving Layton to come to the library to read his poetry. By the time he arrived every chair, bench, table and the floor was crammed with people. He walked in out of the rain and looked around absolutely delighted. Perhaps he hadn't expected to find much of an audience. Running his hands through his hair he gazed at them and said, "For me this is a very moving moment."

In the audience that night, amidst the spellbound people of the neighbourhood, was Phyllis Webb, who—almost as soon as the programme was over—began to make arrangements with Miss Jordan and the library readers for them to read modern Canadian poetry on the CBC Television Extension Series. They appeared on the final programme, number 13, in 1967.

Irving Layton is one thing, but was it the well-known figure or the love of poetry that brought the people out? About a year later Miss Jordan was to know. She attempted to reach Mr. Layton again through his publishers; he was not available but the publishers suggested she might like, instead, to invite an unknown poet, David Weisstub, whose first volume of verses they were about to bring on the market. He came, and so did the audience. Obviously Miss Jordan's love of poetry was shared.

Reading from the classics continued, of course. There was a Milton evening, a Blake evening, an Oscar Wilde evening, and a dramatized account of Charles Dickens' first visit to North America in 1842. The latter was read by the Dickens Fellowship Players, who came because one of their members was also a member of the play-reading club at Parliament Street.

Offerings from Shakespeare also brought student players, from a Grade XI history class at Jarvis Street Collegiate, to enact scenes from **Henry V**. Henry's military leaders wore khaki shirts and pants, but the army was dressed in 'modern coffee-shop-hang-out' style. Another year selections from Shakespeare's **Richard III** were read by the library readers and were followed by a mock legal defence of Richard, attempting to prove his innocence of the murder of the princes in the Tower. The occasion was October 2nd, Richard's birth date; the defence was conducted by the "Richard III Society of Canada" whose headquarters are in Toronto.

And so the pattern of play-reading and poetry unfolded naturally at Parliament Street. The children got into the act too, but that is another story. In the meantime other interests had not been left unserved. The Greek people of the community put on a Greek-Canadian evening in the library. They came dressed in the bright costumes of their former homeland, proudly showed a film about Greece, gave speeches (in Greek) and danced and sang exuberantly. They loved it; and so did their neighbours who came to watch and to learn a little about them. Once an Indian lady was a member of staff, and she put on a whole programme on her own. She had displays of handicrafts, and of books about India; she talked, danced Indian dances, sang Indian songs while playing on a native musical instrument, and quoted poetry from India. The audience was wholly intrigued.

On another occasion a friend of a staff member took old and young alike back in time. She was a student of Old Norse, and had visited the Faroe Islands where she had taken coloured slides and recorded some local music. One evening at Parliament Street Library she gave a slide show of the Faroes, then played the musical recordings while neighbourhood children (whom she had trained) danced old Norse dances such as were danced in the days of Eric the Red.

Italians of the community were not forgotten. "Christmas and Italy" was the theme one year, when carols were sung by the boys' choir of St. Paul's Cathedral Church, poetry was read, and a film on Italy shown. One earlier Christmas activity had been the nativity play, previously mentioned, and given "on the patio". It was not so very cold, Miss Jordan recalls. The people of the community didn't think so at any rate, for the chairs outside were soon completely full, and two performances had to be given to accommodate all who came. On that occasion the choir of All Saints Church sang carols, with everyone later joining in. No doubt people in passing street-cars listened in wonder.

But maybe by then they were no longer surprised at activities outside Parliament Street Library, for every summer there is the Festival of the Arts. In 1967, for instance, it must have been a lively enough event, when it took the form of a "Happening", featuring popular music, poetry, painting and folk singing ("by the stars of tomorrow"). Certainly it would be of interest to the *young* adults—especially the "Drop Ins", teenagers who do just that, every Thursday evening, at the library. Older members of the community, who also come to the festivals, might that year have found a library programme of a quieter nature—"Reminiscences of Cabbagetown", given by the President of the Greater Toronto Businessmen's Association—brought back more memories.

In spite of her ceaseless fight to help them overcome the stigma of a 'deprived' neighbourhood, Miss Jordan is not unaware, indeed, of the many problems in the community.

She now knows and talks to all kinds of community workers, and recognizes only too well how dedicated they are in their struggles to provide better housing, better food, youth counselling, marriage counselling and health counselling. She knows that in some instances even the school principal must go out collecting shoes for his pupils, or for those who need it he installs showers in the basement to put a little cleanliness if not godliness into their lives. She is not blind to the light-fingered habits of some of her young "Drop Ins"; she has had neighbourhood 'winos' stagger into her library. In all these matters she stands up and does what she can, but she stubbornly sticks to her premise that it is *her* job, as librarian, to minister first to the *minds*, not the physical needs, of the people. And whereas some of the community workers think one must minister first to physical needs, Miss Jordan thinks the two must go together.

Setting the Heather on Fire

The Community School on P.E.I.

URBAIN LEBLANC (1968)

Have you had the problem of finding words to describe a very simple object or to define what appears to be a very simple term? This is my situation as I undertake the task of describing and explaining the Prince Edward Island Community School. For to all appearances, it is a very simple, straightforward enterprise. But such appearance may be deceptive; the community school movement on Prince Edward Island may be the most significant educational development in the province in years.

Like most institutions, the community school was developed in response to real needs. The first of these was the need for community. Old community and organizational structures were breaking down and were no longer meaningful. The second need was for adult education. Many agencies were involved in adult education of various forms but their scope was necessarily limited. In spite of the best efforts of the responsible people on these levels, many people in rural areas were not participating in any form of adult education. Too great a gap existed between the level of formal schooling of the rural people and the level of adult instruction. As a result, many people, though conscious of their need for more education, were not taking advantage of the adult education programs.

Background and History

The existence of these needs was discerned by the Island's Rural Development Council. This Council was formed by interested citizens in 1965 to promote the study and understanding of community development. An extensive study of the social and educational needs of the rural people convinced the Council members that a community-oriented adult educational program was the best approach. In such a program the following points were to be stressed:

1. Adult education should be on the actual educational levels of the people;
2. It should offer programs to meet the actual needs and desires of the participants;
3. The local program should be organized, administered and supervised by people in the community; and
4. Teachers and instructors should be drawn, as much as possible, from the local community.

The Community School was designed to meet these requirements. The actual organization of the first schools was undertaken by the Council in the winter of 1966. Much of the promotion work was done by Rudi Dallenbach, a Provincial Rural Development Officer, who had experience with similar enterprises in rural Quebec. Dallenbach challenged the rural people to do something to further their education, and three communities responded by organizing classes. These first schools offered courses to 255 citizens. The results more than fulfilled the Council's expectations; and plans were laid in the summer for an expanded program the following year.

Growth and Development

The winter of 1967 brought a marked expansion in the community school program. Thirteen schools were organized in as many communities, and 1,300 adult learners participated. The rate of growth was maintained in 1968 when twenty schools with a total enrollment of 3,200 were established. The spread of the community school idea from place to place—described by the Scottish president of the Rural Development Council as "setting the heather on fire"—was not accomplished without effort and planning. A brief account of the preparatory work for the 1968 program will illustrate the extent of this effort.

Plans and Policy

To promote knowledge and understanding of the community school, seminars were held in five centres throughout the province in October, 1967. These seminars were preceded by personal contact with leaders in all areas. At each seminar, an explanation of the purpose and structure of the community school was given by a panel of persons who were leaders of a community school the previous year. These seminars were followed by a two-day study session during the Christmas season for all committee members and instructors. In early February, 1968, another such session, this time on teaching methods and communication techniques, was held for instructors. At that date the schools had been in operation for about three weeks and instructors were in a position to exchange experiences and to discuss mutual problems.

It has been the established policy of the Council that on the completion of the year's program, evaluation seminars will be held in four or five centres of the Island. To date these sessions have proven most useful to the local schools and to the Council in planning the long range program.

The Community School classes get under way early in the month of January and are terminated by Easter. For two hours, one night a week, adults, in groups of five or more, have improved, or can improve, their education and training in a field of their choice. On a province-wide basis, the Rural Development Council sponsors the community schools and assists in co-ordinating the efforts of the local people to set up the schools, but after the initial stages the local community carries on pretty well on its own. At the local level the catalyst is, in most cases an organization such as the Home and School, Board of Trade, Lions Club, Women's Institute or similar community-minded groups. In most schools, the closing night or graduation (there are no certificates or diplomas) features a banquet for all the students and instructors plus a number of invited guests. This gives the adult learners an opportunity to display their wares or give evidence of their year's accomplishments... this may take the form of reports on various courses, ballroom dancing, skits, sewing displays, etc. A part of the funds realized from the small registration fee (usually $3) is utilized to defray expenses incurred in connection with the closing banquet as well as to pay for the "coffee and donuts" served on school nights.

Although the schools are sponsored by the Rural Development Council and it assumes the responsibility to underwrite the cost of course materials and other minor expenses, it has no jurisdiction over the schools themselves. The recruiting of instructors, choice of courses, etc., is the responsibility of the local committee members—it is their program! Assistance is available from the Council on request. This local independence does not lend itself to the development of a uniform province-wide program, course content, etc., and may be considered by some adult educators as a serious weakness; on the other hand this could prove to be its greatest strength.

For many adult rural people this is the first time they have been given the opportunity and challenge to organize their own educational program without outside interference. Many Community School students, if I may use the term, are quick to point out that they are not so much concerned about what they will do as a result of what they learn at the school, but rather that they learn to do something together. From their point of view the school lends itself extremely well to leadership development. Local people are given an opportunity to impart knowledge and most of the instructors are well-trained and experienced in their special fields—school teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, mechanics, electricians, accountants, etc. Their remuneration: the privilege to impart knowledge and to share their experience with others.

And Feedback

The following excerpts from letters received by the Council are typical of the reaction of participants at the Community School level:

> "St. Charles being a small county parish, our Community School is, of necessity, not very large. But members are quite enthusiastic; from Leona, the mother of twelve, who says her family will probably starve if she doesn't put down the doily she loves to work on (after taking instruction from Agnes Whitty), to Edie who tried an electric sewing machine for the first time. She was going great guns sewing the band on her skirt but when she held it up for inspection the band stayed in her hand and the skirt fell to the floor!"
>
> "The carpentry class with Dale Cahill as instructor is quite successful. The men are learning to use a "square", putty windows, cut rafters and many other tricks of the trade. The class taking conversational French is trying manfully to pronounce words like "la plume" and "la soeur".
>
> "While our children associate and know one another in the larger (new) community, many of the parents are still isolated in the old community. This is where the social aspect of our Community School is important. Here is where a taxpayer from one end of this new community meets and socializes with another parent and taxpayer at the other end of our community."
>
> "No longer need we feel isolated. We have associated freely on the neutral ground of our schools; we have met our neighbor who suffers from all the problems and frustrations that we do; and we have come to the conclusion, by study of our problems and the cooperation of all, we will make our community more wealthy and wise, and a better place in which to live."
>
> "As our new community develops a spirit and drive, we would hope that more of our young people will stay with us by choice and by so doing our whole Island will be enriched."

Leaders from many Island communities, many of whom are active members of the Rural Development Council, regard the community schools as having great potential as effective instruments of adult education which is basic to any program of community development. Can the interest of the masses be maintained over an extended period of time? Or will this interest and enthusiasm peter out as quickly as it mushroomed? The crystal ball gazers are silent at this point and so time alone will provide answers to these questions. Regardless of what the future may have in store for the people concerned, the brief experience of the past three years has been a very worthwhile one indeed. To the school dropout who attended two community school classes and is presently pursuing an up-grading course preparatory to vocational training, this local community effort has paid great dividends.

It is fair to say that the schools have succeeded in raising the sights of many of our rural people and, when the Comprehensive Development Plan for P.E.I. is unveiled, we feel confident that given the opportunity these people will be better prepared to play a responsible role in its implementation. The Community School, as an adult education medium, can be an important partner in this difficult and important task, not only as an instrument through which information can be disseminated to the people most vitally concerned but also as a feedback mechanism from the community level to the architects of the Comprehensive Development Plan. Indeed, this is probably one of the major functions of—and the greatest challenge to—the Community School.

The Church as Educator

DONALD THEALL (1966)

There would be little controversy over the fact that the Church (whatever particular denominational manifestation it might have) has a teaching function. It is interesting, however, that when the question of the Church and adult education is raised, the usual method of pursuing the question is to ask about special programs of an educational nature conducted by the Church. Adult education is viewed quite frequently as formal education. The resulting application in the religious sphere is that this formal education occurs outside of the service of worship, frequently outside of the physical place where the service of worship takes place, if not outside of the church building itself. Consequently, people give little recognition to one of the Church's most traditional aspects: that is, the Church performs an educative activity itself in the service of worship with the sermon, in the physical place or environment in which the act of worship unfolds, as well as through the inter-relationship of the participants (or communicants) in the service.

Any Church can lose a good deal of its significance if it pays attention chiefly to the peripheral (though admittedly important) educational activities it performs and forgets the *ordinary* medium, manner and mode in which it communicates its particular word.

Any examination of this subject which is not directed towards a particular denomination must be content to ask questions about the implications of various media, modes and manners for communicating a message. It must examine in *general* the possibilities of such kinds of communication.

The most obvious—and perhaps the most frequently cited—example is church architecture. The architecture of churches, as Panofsky shows in his analysis of Gothic architecture and scholasticism, may be quite central in expressing many viewpoints of the Church as a social and theological force. More recently, and in a more austerely American puritan tradition, another architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, commented on the architecture of churches in *The Living City:*

"Church architecture, like most college architecture, has been false to its opportunities. This, for a century at least. The Church of Democracy—tomorrow no feudal survival—is finding for itself a true new form.

"Assuming that the falsity of the old sentimentalities of the fashion-monger would have diminished, the falsity as oppressive to the popular spirit in an enlightened democracy as it always should have been to the Church; assuming the Church would have survived in spite of the multiplicity of competitive churches, it would be likely to take a non-sectarian form: more spiritual; more devotional; combining intellectual vision (the brilliant light of the West) with a softer, more earth-loving and deeper feeling for nature (the glowing light of the East). Here would be another great opportunity—perhaps the greatest of all—for the expression of true religion—religion, a great human synthesis seen again in great architecture. So the Church ... might be a song without words, comprising minor churches grouped about a common meetingplace. It is certain, in any case, that the new church would be a rendezvous with the very heart of great nature."

Even for the architect, especially the modern architect, the Church is more than just a building. It is an environment, an extremely complex total environment, and within that total environment, a multitude of messages are being interchanged. An environment, even to an adult, especially if it is an authoritative (not necessarily authoritarian) environment such as a university or a church or public ritual, instructs as well as provides for mutual participation.

What are some of the instructions that potentially occur within an environment of this nature? For one, there is the education of vision and the auditory sense. There are things to see even in the most austere Quaker meeting house. There are songs to be sung, words to be spoken, or silence to be maintained. What is the value of the silence if the noise of a busy city intersection penetrates it? What is the value of the song if it is fundamentally crude in both words and music, if it is sloppily accompanied and sloppily performed? What does the song or the silence teach us about the relevance of the Church to society if factors of the social realm are not an intrinsic part of the religious happening? If the silence is marred by the sounds of a jarring technology, if the songs are poorly conceived or poorly executed, a disservice is done to the senses, especially to the sense of taste. If the songs have little relevance to contemporary culture, a value judgment is placed on that culture. For some anti-modern religions this may be all right—if it is what is intended. For others it may be quite opposed to their supposed doctrinal position about the world of the here-and-now. In the case of the anti-modern church, however, if the music is not as good as modern folk song, there is a risk of inculcating the view that the Church's music symbolizes the position and role of the Church vis-à-vis other aspects of society.

If liturgy is used extensively, the grace with which the celebrant and his assistants perform the liturgy—or the rigidity and lack of grace with which it is performed—communicates values about the real role of the human body in the religious encounter. Even where liturgy is not used, the gestures and motions involved in leading hymns, recitations of prayers and the delivery of the gospel communicate values. An aggressively-delivered sermon will arouse emotions of aggression that may be at variance with the peace many churches wish to evoke. Poor delivery, involuted and absurd rhetoric, phony attempts at emotionalism will mar the attempt of the most militant church to send forth a message of militancy.

A church that wants to be part of the everyday world creates its own subtle contradictory message when it encourages a standard of formal party dress for Sunday services. A suburban church which urges the participants to come as they would dress at home is bound to be a more intrinsic part of the community life. If the particular church condemns that life of the community, then it must be able to provide a viable reality which will work not only within its own walls but in society as well. To rule out shorts or slacks or sandals or any form of dress accepted in the community outside the Church immediately sets up an opposition between Church and society. It is quite possible that church should be considered something special for Sunday only. This then should be part of the surreptitious message communicated in the situation. It is unfortunate if one does not realize what is being communicated.

The central issue is that the Church performs in each of its gestures a communicative function. This is also a potentially educative and it is obvious to most members of our society that the clergy are frequently unaware of this. Ancient Christianity emphasized asceticism, reception of communion and attendance at the communication of the Word. These acts, whatever their merit or demerit, showed a recognition that the religious encounter must attempt to involve the whole physical person.

Asceticism may well have proved undesirable in many of its manifestations, but its message that the total sensory person is involved in the religious encounter is still vitally important to recognize when examining the Church's role in the education of the adult sensibility.

To avoid specific examples, let us create a hypothetical pair of situations and examine what might be the most desirable method of communicating an entire environment as part of the educative act of participation in the Church.

First, let us assume a theology which accepts the goodness of the human person and particularly the human body. Even perhaps to the point of accepting a resurrection of the body. Let us assume in this religion a reasonably elaborate liturgy, a system of sacraments, an emphasis on catechetical teaching and a desire to inform spiritually the daily life of the participants. Presumably such a church would be acutely aware of the way in which the orchestration of the senses play a major role in an individual's experience. The artistic accompaniments in terms of painting, music, architecture, even furniture and other tactile qualities should all contribute to the heightening of the individual's response. The individual will certainly retain values and compare values obtained in the milieu of the Church with the artistic and utilitarian milieu of his everyday world.

Designers, for example, have come to be very aware of tactile qualities, light qualities, colour and materials in general. Tactility is an important quality of man's life, an important part of his human as well as religious environment. Response to light, colour and sound are also important. Certainly these have been components of religions in the past and present. Think of the overhead light of the baroque cathedral, the splendid colours of liturgical vestments, the insistence of going barefoot in holy places among some religions, and the awareness of the liturgy in other religions as a kind of dance, or the actual introduction of the dance into others. If contemporary modes of living have returned to colour, bodily freedom, tactile experience and a revival of folk music and expressive dancing, these should come into proper focus in any religion which accepts the here-and-now part of the educative content of the Church itself as action and encounter.

The sermon as an educative medium may carry messages that are quite unconscious and quite untrue. Continual attacks on sexual morality, forms of birth control and the like may carry a subliminal message of hatred for the body. Comparatively speaking, how many sermons are given on criminal negligence in traffic deaths, subtle psychic manipulation in advertising campaigns or unchecked profit desires in areas of business such as steel? Apart from content, what do poor and graceless language, poorer delivery and gestural control communicate about respect for the congregation or even the self-respect of the human person saying it? Within the framework of the first hypothetical religion, the

Church could be actively proclaiming a series of messages quite counter to what it wished to imply through bad music, bad art, and a generally bad control of its total environment.

The tensions between the sensuality of the liturgy and the messages being surreptitiously communicated could be quite destructive of the integrity of many within the congregation. Even song, picture, statuary and light, all of which would work in a harmonization of the senses in such a church would be vital educative factors with transferral to, and from, everyday life. Crude plaster representations of events in the life of Christ might make much of advertising art seem satisfactory and sophisticated, possibly even deep. The responsibility of keeping in rapport with social change at these levels where the response of the average participant is instinctive and habitual, has a double-edged educative value. It cuts right at the heart of the ideals of western education itself. "A sense of style," as one mathematician put it, is "... in its finest sense ... the last acquirement of the educated mind; it is also the most useful. It pervades the whole being. The administrator with a sense of style hates waste; the engineer with a sense for style economizes his material; the artisan with a sense for style prefers good work. Style is the ultimate morality of the mind."

In such a Church, the modes of fashion, even if they exposed certain parts of the body, should hardly be rejected if they were a valid part of the world of everyday life. Daily involvement with the church as a house or a home can only be achieved if the Church *is* a house or a home, or, perhaps, for this type of theology, if it were to abandon buildings altogether, entering into houses and homes on an informal ordinary basis. If the Church believes in the infinite beauty and variety of the material world as the creation of a great artistic creator, why should it reject the variety of colour and form, manner and mode from its midst? And if it does, it should be aware *what* it does, what the educational implications are, and why they can be treated in this manner.

Perhaps it would be specious to go into great detail on a second hypothetical religion. If the desire is to communicate a different kind of message, the total environment is just as important. If a religion stresses simplicity and austerity, the simplicity and austerity of its art must reinforce it. Sumptuousness would be out of place. If a religion wishes to turn against the modern period and its evils, the goods that are offered must be convincingly reinforced at all levels of the religious encounter so that the proper playing of Bach and the proper singing of traditional hymns is made an intrinsic part of the total experience. The pulpit and the service must reflect the qualities that the religious point of view wishes to enforce. Sobriety may produce its own powerful rhetoric, but this is hardly the rhetoric of modern worship.

The point is that each church is an educator of a far more complex set of values than it ever seems capable of analysing on a day-by-day basis.

There is a strong tendency to accept cerebral religion or extra-physical religion as if they were an immediately comprehended reality within the world. But they are not. It has always been the Church's message to spiritualize, either by transforming the world or by transcending it, or both. The acts of transcendence are educating acts. Possibly one of the most significant experiences for the education of adults in art, music, social action and human life itself is formed in the processes of the Church's act of worship and its place of worship. One of the greatest failures of most modern churches is that they do not believe that education begins at the very core of communicating the Word, and the communication of the Word occurs in the context of a total environment. It is not for a layman who is an educator to cast doubt on all of the actions of the Church in the world of education. He must, however, point to what he sees as the failure of the Church, in many contemporary denominations, to make the basic assumption that in its most fundamental acts, the Church is a unique educator and has an important role to assume. This might also lead the Church to a greater study of the total environment and its impact on the meaning of the religious life in the world today.

(2) Programs: Open Systems

What have been termed "open systems" or "open-access systems" of education came to prominence in the 1960's particularly with the well publicized Open University *in England. Programs in Canadian adult education have been open for several decades, providing programs where people lived or worked. Many of the most innovative programs of the 1960's featured open access opportunities.*

Canadian Open Adult Learning Systems: Three Examples

D. S. CONGER (1969)

National Farm Radio Forum

The first large scale Canadian mediated adult open learning system was initiated in 1941 as joint venture of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. This program was Farm Radio Forum, which included educational broadcasts, study groups, regional organizers, printed materials and other components of a learning system.

The National Farm Radio Forum was an experiment in mediated adult education which grew out of the depression. In form, it was a national discussion group project for rural Canadians, combining the mass media of radio and the printed page with the small discussion group. The aim of the Farm Radio Forum was to give farmers a new incentive to group action and neighbourliness, and to stimulate thought and understanding among rural listeners, which will widen their horizons as citizens and help them improve their conditions as farmers.

In planning Farm Radio Forum in 1941, E. A. Corbett, the Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, laid out the following educational principles: (1) social progress can only come about through improvement in the quality of human beings, and such individual improvement can only come through increased education, (2) education, when directed towards adults, functions most effectively through group study and group action, (3) adult education must suit the interests of both the individual and the group and, in Corbett's view, in most instances these interests were economic, (4) people must be reached in large numbers to effect any social change, and (5) to have continuing success, study groups not only have to study but should engage in some form of group enterprise, which would produce some immediate and visible effects within the local community.

The process of education, in terms of the National Farm Radio Forum, was inextricably related to the process of communication, in both the mass and inter-personal senses, that was facilitated by the Forum system. The unique aspect of the Farm Radio Forum, viewed from an educational perspective, was its two-way communication process. From the Farm Radio Forum National Office emanated the written study material, while the Forums replied with reports on the discussions of these. The principal goal of the entire communication system of the National Farm Radio Forum was the healthy functioning of the individual forum or discussion-listening group. The radio broadcasts and various printed forum guides represented the employment of the mass media of communications as a means of facilitating the transfer of information to the forums, as well as stimulating the interest of the individual forum members in the proposed discussion topic. The mass media were employed as stimulators in the learning process, as well as being the means of conveying the basic factual foundations on which the learning process would be built.

Since, for most farm listeners, the gap between the local and national interest level was very large, an intermediary agent was necessary in order to ensure a continuity of interest throughout the whole Farm Radio Forum enterprise. The intermediary agent was the weekly broadcast reports given by the various Provincial Farm Forum Secretaries. The National Network of the CBC was divided into regional networks so the Provincial Farm Forum Secretaries could deliver their reports. These reports contained a summarized version of the forum discussions which had occurred in the previous week, including some direct quotations from individual forum members. This five minute period allowed the individual forum to identify with the other forums within the province. It also served the function of providing the individual forums with the knowledge that their opinions had been heard by forum leaders and even voiced over the air for others to hear.

Once every month, five minutes was devoted to a national review broadcast by the National Farm Forum Secretary. The National Secretary received and synthesized all of the Forum reports for the previous month and disseminated the interpretive summary of them over the air.

The most immediate impact of the Farm Radio Forum on the rural Canadian society of the forties and early fifties was its role in fashioning an activist approach, on the part of the farmers, to socio-economic problems. The necessary concomitant of this activist approach was the utilization of the Farm Forum discussion group, as a breeding ground for a rural leadership that exhibited an inquiring and critical mind.

The second general effect of the Farm Radio Forum project was to prove that radio could play a constructive role in an organized adult education program. The Farm Forum also demonstrated that the farmer possessed no intrinsic desire for self-education. Rather, it revealed that other sources of motivation, i.e., neighbourhood listening groups and action projects, were needed in order to make adult education attractive to the farmer.

National Film Board of Canada

A second major mediated Canadian adult education program was initiated with the formation of the National Film Board of Canada in 1939. John Grierson, its first Commissioner, said that education should be activist "on the barricades of social construction" because he believed that education is the key to the mobilization of men's minds, and that education should attach itself to economic processes and what is happening in the world.

Grierson was very conscious of the information explosion, but critical of educators who were concerned only with imparting cold data, or teaching purely cognitive material. He called for a dramatic approach to education rather than the current intellectualist approach.

To Grierson adult education required "a kind of education shorthand which would give people quick and immediate comprehension of the highly complex forces which motivate our complicated society." Society with its wide horizons and complex perspectives cannot be taught in the old cognitive ways, he argued, and in fact the only methods which will convey the nature of society are dramatic methods. That is why the documentary is important to education. The documentary *communicates* the new world by showing it in its corporate and living nature. Grierson argued that education should express itself not as thought or debate but as the positive action within the community of organized youth groups, women's groups and men's groups.

Educational technique, according to Grierson, must be revolutionized and fitted for the task not only of demonstrating the living terms of a living community, but of *realizing* them in action and by action. The secret of the relationship between propaganda and education in the future lies ultimately in this matter of technique, and it involves a new consideration of the dramatic or interpretive factor in education.

Education must translate the materials of citizenship into terms which are capable of being grasped and which are inducive to action, by presenting the basic dramatic patterns in all social problems which involve a relationship between people and forces. Revelation of these dramatic patterns is a first essential in the process of modern education. For young people and adults alike require a broad and lively picture of their society to stir their imaginations and instill the loyalties necessary if they are to face up to its problems. In short, the dramatic pattern could convey a sense of growth and movement and opposition, provide a grip on reality and secure a sense of action regarding it. It was out of these considerations and this theory that the documentary film movement arose.

Grierson developed the documentary film as a movement deliberately to "bring alive" to the citizen the world in which his citizenship lay, to "bridge the gap" between the citizen and his community. Grierson believed that "even so complex a world as ours could be patterned for all to appreciate if we only got away from the servile accumulation of fact and struck for the story which held the facts in living organic relationship together."

A theory purely educational became thereby a theory involving the directive use of films, based on two essential factors: the observation of the ordinary or the actual, and the discovery within the actual of the patterns which gave it significance for civic education.

On this philosophy of education the National Film Board of Canada produced a wide range of educational films including series on improving health, farming, community, labour-management relations, ethnic relations, mental health, industrial safety and corrections.

In the early years of the National Film Board (1940's) over half of Canada's population lived in rural areas, little towns and villages, on farms and fishing outports, and it was necessary to take Grierson's education to the people. Initially, a network of travelling projectionists was established to take the film, screen and projector from community to community. Sometimes, if there was an agricultural film on the program, the provincial agricultural representative came along. If there was a health film the public health nurse or doctor travelled with the projectionist. When a district was having a special campaign, the projectionist brought a film to help it along.

In 1955-56, 14,469,700 people saw the Board's films in Canada in community and school showings. The schools accounted for slightly over half the total. Over eleven million of these people saw the films which had been borrowed from libraries. By now almost twelve thousand organizations belonged to film councils and film libraries. For every National Film Board employee working on the distribution of films to community groups, there were at least 120 organizations, and at least 2,000 volunteers.

TEVEC

At about the same time as Challenge for Change was beginning, a project called TEVEC was initiated in a rural part of Quebec. This was an experimental project to integrate academic education with socio-economic education and to deliver the training by means of television to provide a uniform high level of instruction. In addition, local discussion groups and study clubs were organized to facilitate the consolidation and utilization of new learning.

The philosophy of the planners called for (1) the program to be accountable to the students themselves on the grounds that education must go beyond the schools and be placed in the public sector, (2) education to be relevant to the problems that concern the student rather than be concerned with grammar and other subjects for their sake alone, (3) the program to be "marketed" to the public in much the same way that commercial products are marketed, (4) subjects such as language and mathematics to be treated as communications which should suit the broadcast medium, (5) the delivery of education into the student's milieu to create reinforcers in the milieu to help him retain his new knowledge, (6) the incorporation of individualized learning, (7) the incorporation of group learning which would be an enriching experience itself, and provide the student with opportunities to consolidate his learning by teaching others, (8) an inspirational or motivational component (to convince the student that he does have control over his own life), that can be provided best by broadcast, and (9) the process of education to be the content of education.

Not all of the philosphy was tested in TEVEC. For instance, the Department of Education did not agree to integrating social-economic and academic education, for fear that proper educational standards would not be met. It was necessary, therefore, to have the two programs co-exist whereby the academic instruction was provided for 20 per cent of the broadcast time, with the remaining time being devoted to the discussion of socio-economic issues.

For the socio-economic program, the topics were suggested by the students themselves. Among the topics discussed were women in the work force, transportation, generation gap, parochial mentality, municipal councils, the role of the elected representative, election procedures, parliamentary procedures, roles of various government departments, and problem solving skills.

Television was mostly used to motivate and inform. It provided the background which was necessary to learning and for becoming conscious of the social or economic issue.

The second part of the course was the correspondence aspect offered to the adult students. The academic upgrading material was received by each student along with explanations of the socio-economic themes, exercises, questionnaires, electrostatic pencils and self addressed return envelopes. The questionnaires were sent to the high school where they were to be corrected by computer.

Students wrote exams at the end of the courses. Those that passed the exams received a diploma certifying their level of competence. Those that wrote exams in socio-economic topics also received a certificate indicating the study of these topics.

Social animation was conducted to encourage and organize community participation and to provide leadership training so that this participation might take place in the tele-clubs, the resource centres, and in future activities. Resource Centres were open once a week to students who desired assistance from any teacher.

Each student who did not have more than five years of schooling could benefit by a regular visit from a home visitor. This home visitor provided encouragement rather than academic help.

Conclusion

The Canadian philosophy of adult education as exemplified in the projects described above derived from programs designed to improve the socio-economic circumstances of disadvantaged peoples. The major components of the philosophy might be described as follows:

1. adult education must be practical and relevant to the needs, of the people,
2. it must be interesting, participative and help in creating common goals and standards,
3. it must perceive the partnership between human resource development and socio-economic development,
4. it must involve itself actively with groups seeking change in their lot,
5. it must assist groups to define their situation, plan for action, mobilize resources and facilitate coordination among various groups.

Challenge for Change

NANCY MACNEILL (1969)

The Role of the National Film Board

It may seem strange that a government agency like the Film Board is suddenly playing the role of innovator, change agent, missionary. The *Challenge for Change* staff people have to tread carefully on this question. Properly speaking, *Challenge for Change* is a "program" only *within* the NFB, which, by definition, is a communications organization, whose function is to support existing programs. Obviously the people working in *Challenge for Change* are also committed to finding and implementing the changes required in society to produce the eradication of poverty, but NFB per se is not a community organizer. This sounds a bit defensive when it comes from a government employee, although one can well understand the pressures which the program must be under. However, if it succeeds over the next few years as a medium of adult education for change, as a mobilizer, then the NFB must take the responsibility. I hope it does succeed. Orthodox methods, long talked about, have failed; the churches have made no major contribution; most government measures are ineffective; and while *Challenge for Change* cannot be looked upon as a magical panacea, it must get the credit, as well as take the responsibility for committing itself—and seventeen other government agencies in cooperation with it—to a new concept and a new attempt.

"Curing poverty," writes R. A. J. Phillips, "means improving society by measures which affect more than the obviously poor." There are perhaps three areas of main concern in the *Challenge for Change* program. First, and most clear-cut, is the production of films for general audiences (e.g. *Things I Cannot Change*, the first film made for the Special Planning Secretariat), designed to educate about poverty and social development, and to stimulate attitude change. The second calls for an entirely different concept. Film is produced about, with and for a very particular group in society, with the aim of helping them to identify their problems, understand their environment, and work with fresh insights toward change (e.g. the Fogo Island films, *PowWow at Duck Lake*, etc.) By working with the filmmaker, telling him what to shoot, what to edit, the persons concerned are directly involved in the communication process, and the problems. While this method is being used now with deprived groups of people, it can be used to help any group understand itself, the society in which it operates, and the problems militating against change. Finally, *Challenge for Change* is concerned to get down to the root communications problems between professional organizations and individuals working for social change, and the people for whom they work. There is frequent frustration felt by community development workers because they are not in close enough touch with the persons they are trying to assist. The use of film here may provide continuous new insights.

Film and Social Change

The eradication of poverty obviously requires massive social change. While most of us give lip service to such a goal, many of us are still much more concerned with finding a rationalization for the status quo than we are for breaking fresh ground. Any real commitment to change, social or otherwise, means that the rules are thrown out, the results unforeseeable. The *process*, rather than the end result, becomes the crucial factor. The method is necessarily experimental.

The initial *Challenge for Change* bulletin contained a listing of some fifty films, previously produced, which were concerned with social change and poverty situations. There are excellent, adequate and poor films in the list. But they can indicate, to the thoughtful leader, what he can do with existing film resources to produce discussion and perhaps action about particular problems. New films for the general audience, such as *Saul Alinsky Went to War* (CBC, July 21, 1968, 10 p.m.) are being made.

Why was Alinsky, the American sociologist organizer, chosen as the first and consistent star of several new documentaries? Does the NFB buy the Alinsky philosophy and method? Don Duprey of the NFB gives an emphatic "no" to the question. He says that the Alinsky films were made deliberately in order to use the most "sensational and controversial" organizer, his ideas and methods, as a vehicle to penetrate and stimulate the thinking of Canadians. The aim is thus to produce a variety of Canadian concepts about organization and change, which will in turn produce a variety of experiments. At that point NFB's role is to work with a community organization, bringing in communications technology as a new resource, and to record and communicate the developments as they happen.

It is here that the ball is thrown squarely into the court of those individuals and organizations who are thinking about, or doing, programs for change. What is happening where, why and how? Who is involved? Will the experience be useful to other groups in different regions? Can film help in the process?

The program of relocating twenty Indian families at Elliot Lake was certainly not an unqualified success (ten families returned in short order to the reserve); the film *Indian Relocation—Elliot Lake* gives a partial answer to the question why not, and should be eminently successful. *Encounter at Kwacha House* (Halifax) doesn't attempt to say what will stop discrimination against Haligonian Negroes, but it demonstrates with great force what some Negroes there feel they are up against, and as such is a powerful teaching vehicle for them, and also for others.

One of the first projects, in cooperation with Memorial University, is the examination of the problems of Fogo Island, a small fishing community off the eastern coast of Newfoundland. Fogo Island is isolated, 60 per cent of its inhabitants are on welfare, the fishing industry is declining. The Island has ten communities, which means there are also inter-community relationships which enter the picture. The islanders take different approaches to their problems. Some have decided it's hopeless, and want to leave (*Billy Crane Moves Away*); some, after their requests for aid are turned down by government, take their own initiative (*Jim*

Decker Builds a Longliner); all meet and talk (*Fishermen's Meeting*). The initial films were shown to the islanders, to stimulate their understanding and interpretation of the different points of view they hold. These films, and others made on the same experimental basis, were also part of the resources for the month-long workshop for community development officers held at Memorial University in June.

Whether these beginnings will have concrete and measurable results in social change is impossible to tell at this point. This is a long range program. But the immediate results in terms of personal involvement, opportunity for understanding the problems as others see them, realization of the role the individual plays in community development—all these are or could be of immense value to the captives of poverty themselves, and also community development officers, and adult educators.

Other Uses of Challenge for Change

What concerns the reader is the usefulness and validity of such films in other situations—whether they will effectively communicate to the non-poor is still a question. There are both problems and opportunities. Problems, primarily in the comprehension of the situation, and the very practical one of understanding the accent of a Newfoundland outporter, or a Northern Ontario Indian. Opportunities for the middle-class viewer to grasp the extent of the comprehension needed before we, as Canadians, can tackle together the concrete problems of our society and its citizens.

Those who look to the *Challenge for Change* films for the masterpieces of which NFB is capable, the sensitive experiments in film making, the subtle delineation of a point of view, will be disappointed. Technically many of the films are only fair; sound and picture are frequently blurred. But this is beside the point. The purpose, after all, of NFB's training seven young Indians for three months and more to be a film crew, is not to replace the Norman McLarens or Claude Jutras. It is rather to produce persons competent enough in film making so that they can film situations and persons and groups which the sophisticated outsider could never do. These new film makers will be able to work with Indians in the delineation, understanding and changing of that which they want to change.

Challenge for Change has a newsletter spelling out some of the specifics of the program, what film projects are under way, what films are available, the background of the program, etc. What it does not have are any easy answers, nor, as yet, an effective means of communication between the NFB and the reader who "knows about" the program. Unless he is already involved in an organization or a program specifically geared to social change—university extension, provincial or federal community development programs, or a private group—in which a great deal more information is provided—he has no way of becoming a part of the concept of *Challenge for Change*. His only possibility is to *use* film, but which or how?

For example, which films in the original catalogue might best be used to stimulate the complacent or ignorant audience? Which will provide insight into particular approaches to social change? Which show the five million Canadian poor, and demonstrate what it's like to be poor? Which examine individual reactions to poverty? Which would stimulate what kind of audience to what kind of action?

These questions don't have pat answers, but there must be some kind of guide for the individual or organization that wants to plug in to the contemporary situation. *Challenge for Change* must evaluate their own productions, as well as evaluating the effectiveness of traditional approaches to poverty.

"Town Talk"—An Experiment in Community Programs

LOIS WILSON (1969)

That's exactly what took place during November in the Lakehead communities of Port Arthur and Fort William, Ontario (Pop. 90,000)—talk about the issues of the town. "Who is responsible for air and water pollution control?" "How can marriage breakdown be prevented?" "What form of government suits our cities best?" "Has science made life more humane?" "What amount of foreign aid ought Canada to contribute to international development?"

The "talk" took place in every conceivable setting: radio hot lines; television programs; twenty mixed citizens' discussion groups; regular meetings of service clubs; University and High School classrooms; regular meetings of professional groupings, sororities, church groups; at special open forums which drew a wide cross section of citizens.

In the emerging city of today, there is a serious breakdown in communication. The size and massive problems of the city leave the average citizen paralyzed and confused, not knowing how to cope with the issues, and feeling powerless to do much about them. Social paralysis, rather than social apathy, is the problem. There are important questions to be faced about the future of the city, its character, its fears and hopes. Town Talk was one community's attempt to create a form of "meeting", where citizens could talk about their common life in the modern city, in an atmosphere of mutual trust and informed opinion.

"The venture," commented Dr. Wilson Head, Director of the Toronto Social Planning Council, "was a unique and effective method of getting many people to begin thinking about the problems of the area, and of their relation to wider problems and issues."

The event, adapted from similar experiments in Germany and the United States, was instigated by an ad hoc group of twelve people, drawn initially from local churches. The Steering Committee, all self-appointed, was able to stimulate a great segment of the community to centre down simultaneously on the same issues. Eighteen months' preparation period was a small price to pay for the very exciting involvement of major areas of the community in significant conversation with each other.

On four occasions, phone lines to the TV or radio stations were jammed, which meant over one hundred simultaneous calls. The television showing of the National Film Board's "*Phoebe*", dealing with teenage pregnancy, was followed by a radio open line which drew 80% teen and 20% adult comment. Clyde Sanger, editorial writer on international affairs for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, addressed groups on Canada's responsibility for international development. Dr. David Summers, Religion Labor Council of Canada, spoke to the Kinsmen Club on automation and the obsolete person; Dr. Daniel Hill, Ontario Human Rights Commission, raised queries on race relations; Arnold Edinborough, editor of *Saturday Night*, teamed up with Lakehead people on a TV panel to raise questions of the role of the church in the community. The Radio Sales Bureau provided a resource person to respond on radio hot line to a TV program on "The Ethics of Advertising." An open meeting on pollution, panelled by a federal M.P., representative of Ontario Water Resources Commission, and a local doctor, drew school principals, doctors, politicians, industrial representatives, university students, clergymen, housewives, and laborers. Questions and discussion went on for an hour after adjournment, sparked possibly by a locally produced TV show on the subject.

Two liaison officers of the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Walter Hlady and G. P. Allan, stimulated concern on the issue "Does what I do count in the city?"

The kick-off event was a Miles for Millions Walkathon in late October. Marchers, ranging in age from seven to eighty, including six entire families, two dogs, members of the clergy, two persons on crutches, and the mayor of Port Arthur, walked a 32-mile route and raised $50,000 through persons sponsoring them at a voluntary donation *per mile walked*. Funds were allocated to CARE, OXFAM, Crossroads Africa, and to support a team of people who "blitzed" the community one November weekend, on Canada's international responsibilities. Five thousand marchers started, and fifteen hundred finished. Many a twelve-year-old had $200 riding on their ability to finish.

One of the main keys to success in the venture was the two citywide Assemblies held at Lakehead University in May and September. At the first, the main issues the community felt were its major concerns were isolated for Fall discussions; at the second, resources to supplement and aid discussions were made known. Every known community organization was invited to send representatives, and three hundred people turned up on both occasions. Resource groups that greatly assisted with the programming were Community Programs Branch of the Ontario Government (which trained twenty-five discussion group leaders in discussion techniques); Public Libraries (set up special Town Talk displays); National Film Board (made films available and assisted in selection of appropriate films for TV use); Y.W.-Y.M.C.A. (cancelled their complete program the day of the walkathon, to enable their membership to march in Miles for Millions as a body); Red Cross High School Youth and the Rural Learning Association (co-sponsored mixed citizens' discussion groups); United Church Women and Catholic Women's League (who, on an area basis co-sponsored a Conference on the Family with a 40 per cent male attendance). Established groups in the community, such as Children's Aid Societies, Ontario Human Rights Commission, Northwestern Hearing Association for the Deaf, Religion and Labor Council of Canada, made available national resource people of high calibre.

A booklet written by forty Lakehead residents, giving background material, questions, films, and reading suggestions pertinent to the issues, was edited by a local doctor's wife. Personnel from the Board of Parks and Recreation, the Lakehead Chamber of Commerce, as well as psychiatrists conversant with human problems, engineers knowledgeable about pollution control, educators anxious to talk about the issues raised by *Up the Down Staircase*, offered themselves as resources for citizens' groups.

Funded by Lakehead churches, the Citizenship Branch of the Department of State, and by local community organizations, the project has broad implications which are just beginning to be known. One city alderman, seeking re-election, based his TV presentation on the Town Talk approach to civic issues. There is widespread demand for action, following "all that talk." The results of a phone survey of the area, which included every fifth name in the phone book, are in process of tabulation. This will help assess how aware the community was of something called "Town Talk", as well as gauge involvement of ordinary citizens. A community-wide evaluation in January will seek to discover ways in which the community can build upon the gains made through the project. Whether the citizens of this area will move the next step forward, and create the necessary structure for continuing adult education, is an open question. It appears at this juncture, that they will.

Living Room Learning in British Columbia

KNUTE BUTTEDAHL (1969)

In the late 1950's and early 1960's a new trail was blazed in programming for adults in British Columbia. Thousands of men and women in every corner of the province became involved in a study and discussion program conducted by The University of British Columbia under the title of "Living Room Learning".

This is the story of an exciting dimension to adult programming in British Columbia, which flourished for seven years before financial exigencies led to its demise.

The UBC Department of University Extension (now the Centre for Continuing Education) had an extensive record of programming in the liberal arts, but prior to 1957 there was no ongoing program using the study-discussion method. In August of that year, The Fund for Adult Education "approved a grant of $32,000 to The University of British Columbia for the three-year period September 1, 1957, through August 31, 1960, for establishing of a liberal arts centre at the University. . . ." This grant was assigned by the University to the Department of University Extension. Knute Buttedahl was engaged to administer and supervise the establishment of a Study-Discussion Program in the Liberal Arts which soon became known by the popular title "Living Room Learning".

A Summary

The program brought the University out into the community. These were not lectures or classes, but round-table discussion groups, stimulated by specially prepared books, dramatic recordings, and films.

Trained leaders kept the discussion on the track. No one tried to supply answers to all the questions raised. The purpose of the groups was to draw basic information from the readings and the audio-visual material and to stimulate participants to think better for themselves, through discussion. The discussion leaders usually were recruited from among volunteers in the community and trained in special workshops. The program, therefore, was not restricted to the availability of university lecturers.

Within the three-year grant period, Living Room Learning had expanded to involve over 1,300 participants annually in over 40 communities throughout British Columbia. In April, 1960, the University Board of Governors approved the incorporation of the study-discussion project into the regular program of the Department of University Extension.

For four additional years the program grew and flourished until eventually it serviced annually over 1,500 participants in some 77 British Columbia communities.

In 1964, as a result of the University's ruling that Extension Department programs must become substantially self-supporting, it was reluctantly decided to discontinue the study-discussion program along with a number of other liberal arts activities which required substantial financial subsidy.

The community uproar was substantial. For the next few years, dozens of letters were directed to the University pointing out the value and impact which the Living Room Learning program had for the smaller community which was too remote to otherwise benefit from university programs. The UBC Alumni Association also joined in to urge reconsideration of the decision to discontinue support for this program. Numerous submissions by the Department of University Extension for some support money were to no avail. Faced with the stringent problems of rising enrollment, the University chose not to allocate scarce resources to subsidize a Study-Discussion Program in the Liberal Arts.

Living Room Learning at the height of its operation in British Columbia required an annual budget of about $25,000 of which only about one half was recovered from participant fees.

After some 2½ years of dormancy, the Study-Discussion Program was reintroduced in the Fall of 1966, but on a much smaller scale. In an attempt to make the new program financially viable, an Independent Study component was added. Much of the community network of volunteers had disappeared. A year of renewed effort produced a total of 20 study-discussion groups and 175 participants. This revival lasted little more than a year before it petered out. Other program needs were too demanding and the Study-Discussion Program at The University of British Columbia faded into history.

Aims of the Program

To provide focus to the Study-Discussion Program in the Liberal Arts, a set of four fundamental aims were adopted: (1) to help the participant to understand the culture of which he is a part; (2) to help him think independently, critically, and objectively; (3) to develop his tolerance of opinions and ideas which differ from his own; (4) to develop his skills in communicating with others.

These aims were similar to those developed for study-discussion programs at a number of other institutions. They served as a helpful baseline in developing the operational techniques, the training of discussion leaders, and the production of new packages of materials.

Choice of Name

Very early in the development of the Study-Discussion Program in the Liberal Arts, the popular title of "Living Room Learning" was tested and then adopted. It is felt that the happy selection of this name did much to capture the imagination of the community. "Living Room Learning" was a catchy "trademark" and had many desirable connotations. It was a gem for publicity and press releases.

This emphasis on location by the first Program Supervisor was abandoned by subsequent Supervisors and in 1963 the name "Living Room Learning" disappeared officially. The rationale for dropping the popular title, which had become a household word in British Columbia, was that many of the study-discussion groups no longer met in private homes. However, as testimony to the effectiveness of the popular title, Living Room Learning is today still the tag applied by many people in British Columbia when they refer to study-discussion programs.

Materials for Study and Discussion

At the inception of Living Room Learning a number of "packaged programs" already had been developed, tested, and put into production. Most of these were developed through the efforts of The Fund for Adult Education. Several other packaged programs were available from other sources. As Living Room Learning grew and as many participants returned again and again to register for new groups, the clamour for additional courses was met by the development of new packaged programs at The University of British Columbia. At the same time, the "Living Library" division of the Canadian Association for Adult Education was developing new topics.

At the height of popularity of study-discussion in British Columbia, some 24 topics were available and offered to discussion participants.

Volunteer

In each major community a volunteer Living Room Learning Coordinator was recruited and trained. Often assisted by a community Advisory Committee, these Coordinators helped the Program Supervisor to plan, promote, organize, and administer the Living Room Learning groups in their region. At the height of the program, there were more than 60 coordinators scattered throughout the Province.

In addition, volunteer discussion leaders were recruited from the community and trained for their role. Once a program was launched successfully in a community, additional volunteers were recruited from among participants.

The bulk of the discussion leader training workshops during the initial four years were conducted by the Program Supervisor. This allowed him to assess the capabilities of the volunteers and facilitated their assignment to a role which would ensure some control over the quality of the discussion leadership.

The success of Living Room Learning in large part was due to the enthusiasm and loyalty of its volunteers. It was obvious that the discussion leaders held the key to the success of each Living Room Learning group. Because of the excellence of the discussion leader guides which accompanied most of the "packaged programs" it was not necessary to give training in subject matter. Instead, our attention was concentrated upon training our discussion leaders in group processes.

While no accurate record is now available, we can estimate that over 300 people served as discussion leaders in Living Room Learning, at one time or another. Many served for years.

Characteristics of Participants

For a two-year period, the study-discussion program was involved in a Data Collection Project on behalf of The Fund for Adult Education.

From 782 participants in 95 groups, we determined a number of characteristics.

Almost one half of our participants were 40 years of age or older. More women than men participated, two women to every man. Most participants had at least completed high school. Almost one half had gone beyond 12 years of schooling. Professional, semi-professional, proprietary, and managerial categories of occupation accounted for almost one half of these participants.

Size of the Groups

There are many opinions about the optimum number of people to have in a discussion group, but for a variety of reasons, including experience and a survey among participants, Living Room Learning developed a policy of setting the minimum size at 10 in addition to the discussion leader. The most successful groups seemed to achieve excellent results with 16 to 18 participants. Larger groups did function but were a test of skill of the leader. Experienced leaders seemed able to handle up to 24 members and still allow for sufficient participation by each individual.

Length of Program

Since the study-discussion groups normally met once a week, this meant that a ten-session program would involve participants for some 2½ months. Rationalizing that busy, mobile adults in the average urban region would be unable to comfortably commit their time beyond a few months into the future, and also being aware of the seasonal rhythm of adult activities, we were comfortable with the choice of 10 weeks as the average life for a Living Room Learning group and feedback from participants reinforced our decision. Some groups expressed interest in continuing for a few additional meetings in order to review or dig deeper into some aspect of the topic. We encouraged such developments.

Successful Promotional Techniques

The experience of Living Room Learning confirmed the principle that the most effective form of publicity is by word-of-mouth and personal contact on the part of previous participants. Their enthusiasm was contagious. To many participants it became almost a crusade to involve others in the unique kind of experience they had undergone. Their letters and visits to distant friends were certain to spread the spark of Living Room Learning to new communities. We received many enquiries from people who had heard about study-discussion from a friend and who urged that the program be introduced to their community.

A typical range of publicity techniques was employed—newspaper stories and occasionally an advertisement, radio and television interviews and announcements, brochures, personal letters, posters, and talks to organizations. Printed material such as brochures, leaflets, and posters, was designed and printed at the university. Each season saw a new design or theme and this was applied to the whole province. No matter where you travelled in the province, Living Room Learning was equally identifiable.

Special mention should be made of two promotional techniques which were exceptionally useful to introduce the program to a community, whether an urban neighbourhood or a whole village. In areas with a population of less than about 20,000, Living Room Learning was successfully launched by mailing a brochure to every household in the community. Urban neighbourhoods also were selected for this "postal walk" technique.

The average response to this type of blanket promotional mailing turned out to be about 1.5 per cent or an average of 15 responses from every 1,000 brochures. Since the Extension Department was equipped to print brochures at nominal cost and since postage rates were much less in those years, a community could be blanketed with publicity material at a small cost.

The other very successful technique for attracting participants was the neighbourhood coffee party. Held in the home of the host/hostess of a future study-discussion group, this neighbourhood event provided an ideal atmosphere in which people could talk about the program and get some reassurance before registering in Living Room Learning. It also gave them an opportunity to meet other group members with whom they could be associated in the program. Invitations often were distributed wholesale by "postal walks" as well as by personal telephone to friends. The neighbourhood coffee party became essential for introducing and launching Living Room Learning in a new community.

Autonomous Groups

In later years autonomous groups were encouraged by the development of reading lists and other materials for a number of topics not included in Living Room Learning. These suggestions for both group and individual study were developed in response to requests from individuals as well as from Living Room Learning groups who had been together for a number of years and who now wanted to continue independently by developing their own topics.

There are no records extant on the number of autonomous groups serviced over the years. However, since the demise of the Study-Discussion Program we annually hear about at least a couple of study-discussion groups functioning somewhere in British Columbia. Some of them still call their activity Living Room Learning and have perpetuated themselves year after year. This factor provides strong testimony to the fact that the study and discussion concept can fulfill a very useful need in any Canadian community.

The Fee Structure

We established a fee of $10 per person, with a special fee of $15 for married couples who shared one package of readings. On a number of occasions we reviewed our fee structure but, after comparison with fees charged in other community and university adult education programs, and after discussion with Living Room Learning volunteers, we could only conclude that our fees already were the maximum acceptable. It may be unfortunate, but we never put this conclusion to the test by trying a higher fee. Our decision in 1964 to discontinue the Study-Discussion Program in the Liberal Arts, was predicated upon our considered opinion that the substantial fee increase required to pay for the program would not be acceptable to participants.

Conclusion

In many ways it was evident that the enthusiasm and loyalty of our volunteer discussion leaders and coordinators also was infused into a significant number of participants. Possibly because of the intensive and enjoyable social experience which participants encountered in these small discussion groups, the whole study-discussion program in British Columbia seemed to take on many of the attributes of a movement.

(3) An Innovation by Government

It is usually claimed that the role of voluntary organizations is to innovate and pioneer. In the 1960's, however, some of the most unusual programs were initiated, sponsored and financed by governments—Opportunities For Youth, Local Initiatives Programs, Company of Young Canadians and NewStart. For various reasons none of these programs were to survive the mid-point of the 1970's. Yet an examination of policies, structures and programs is well warranted: for lessons for the future. The NewStart program is presented as an important example.

The Canada NewStart Program: an Overview

E. P. SLOAN (1969)

Origins

In Canada, 1965 was the year of the 'War on Poverty'. During that year, the Speech from the Throne included a commitment on the part of the government to undertake a comprehensive attack on the problems of poverty and inequality which persisted despite the development and expansion which had occurred during the fifties and early sixties. The Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council was assigned responsibility for planning and co-ordinating the various anti-poverty activities of the federal government. In July, at a Federal-Provincial Conference, Prime Minister Pearson proposed the selection of a few designated areas for 'special pilot projects'. In December, a Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity was convened in Ottawa. Out of this flurry of activity there emerged a number of programs of which the Canada NewStart Program was one.

The Canada NewStart Program was launched during the summer of 1967 under the auspices of the Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration. Its purpose was "to develop through action-research and experimentation, new methods for motivating and training adults, particularly those who are disadvantaged as to their education." It was known that the operating education and training programs were not reaching many of Canada's unemployed and under-employed. The NewStart program was a deliberate attempt to investigate the problems of the 'disadvantaged' and to develop and test programs which would help them to qualify for and obtain stable and rewarding employment. In his original proposal, Prime Minister Pearson had stated: "This would be in effect an intensive effort in practical research designed to determine the best methods of meeting the training needs of adults in designated areas." He further stated: "the federal government believes that this kind of experiment is essential to developing the improvements in manpower policies which the Economic Council of Canada has emphasized are essential if we are to realize the potentialities of our economy." The program was transferred to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1969. Its mandate was changed to "experimentation in the social and human aspects of development."

Organizational Structure

One of the innovative features of the Canada NewStart Program was the selection of the 'quasi non-governmental organization' as a mechanism for implementing the program. Private, non-profit NewStart Corporations, funded entirely by the federal government, were established under the Societies Act of the province within which each program was to operate. This model would appear to offer a practical solution to many of the difficulties of federal provincial co-operation in areas of mixed constitutional jurisdiction. These areas would include education (particularly ABE), welfare, manpower development and training, and problems associated with native peoples. Pifer (1967), and Coddington and Milleken (1970), discuss the development and proliferation of this type of organization in the United States. An evaluation of the NewStart organizational model which will provide an objective assessment of its potential utility for intergovernmental co-operative activities is planned.

Objectives

It was implicit in the decision to initiate the Canada NewStart Program that, before large amounts of money and resources were committed to large scale economic and social development programs, a relatively small amount would be invested in 'practical research' to determine which were the best ways to invest the larger sums of money. Experience in the United States had shown clearly the need for systematic research on and evaluation of many human and social problems before large-scale operational programs were launched. Through the NewStart Program, the Canadian government hoped to develop, test, and evaluate methods which could be used in large-scale programs.

Thus, from the outset, the objectives of the Canada NewStart Program were research objectives—the production of increased and improved knowledge about the problems of disadvantaged Canadians and about the value of alternative solutions to those problems. There was an unusual air of humility about the sponsors of the program in that they acknowledged that there were problems they did not fully understand and for which they did not have solutions. The mandate given to the NewStart corporations was to seek out the disadvantaged within their areas; to diagnose the problems with the disadvantaged themselves; and to seek, through innovation and experimentation, practical solutions to those problems. This mandate was to be carried out within definite time and budget limitations.

Present Status

The areas in which these corporations operate reflect a variety of economic and social conditions. With the exception of Saskatchewan NewStart, which is located in the city of Prince Albert, they are all rural. Total population in the areas ranges from about 16,000 in the smallest, in Alberta, to about 28,000 in the largest, Prince Albert. Target areas in the Maritimes are characterized by economic stagnation or slow growth, population decline, dependence on primary industries, and chronic high unemployment and underemployment. Many of the people of these areas are disadvantaged in terms of education and work experience; they are frequently ineligible to take advantage of skill-training courses which are available; and they are unqualified for employment in any but the most unskilled jobs. In contrast to eastern areas, the northern prairies are experiencing a period of development and economic growth. In the western NewStart areas, a large proportion of the target population are Indian and Métis and the principal problem is to prepare the native peoples for those jobs which will become available so that they are not bypassed in favour of labour imported from other areas.

Programs

The NewStart programs are all different. The differences result from conditions in the local area; composition of the target population and the needs of various sub-groups of this population; and from the philosophy, interests, and capabilities of the NewStart staff. At the same time, all of the existing programs have common components and elements. All contain ABE programs, some form of basic life skills, some form of occupational training, individual and family counselling, and community development. From the initial emphasis on labour force development and occupational training the Canada NewStart Programs has progressively evolved to encompass all aspects of human resource development. This more comprehensive approach recognizes the fact that Canada's disadvantaged are multi-problem individuals and groups, and that much more than occupational training will be needed for their social and economic rehabilitation.

For purposes of clarity and coherence, the programs of each of the NewStart corporations will be discussed separately.

Nova Scotia NewStart

Nova Scotia NewStart was established in Yarmouth County, with headquarters in the town of Yarmouth. The area is characterized by economic stagnation, low income, low educational levels, high unemployment and large seasonal fluctuations in employment associated with the fishing and tourist industries.

Nova Scotia NewStart has experimented with a variety of programs designed to meet the needs of various sub-groups of their target population. Among the exploratory projects which have been completed were training programs for off-shore fishermen, on-the-job training for craft occupations, housekeeper and homemaker training for disadvantaged females, and crafts production and marketing training for handicapped adults.

Adult Literacy Training. A series of three related projects using various commercial materials under controlled reinforcement conditions. The commercial materials have been adapted and used with supplementary materials specially developed to permit the application of principles of learning in presentation and provision of feedback and reinforcement. The materials used include Educational Development Laboratories (E.D.L.) program materials; Basic Automated Texting Response Modules (B.A.T.R.M.) and Reinforced Self-Study in Developing Reading Skills.

Personalized ABE. This project has developed from earlier exploratory work in Basic Skills and Pre-Occupational Training. This project is designed to test a program in which participants are permitted to select and pursue educational up-grading appropriate to their personal needs and capabilities. The project involves the use of multi-media, multi-mode learning laboratory facilities supported by paraprofessional instructor aides and counsellors under the supervision of professionally trained instructors. The program incorporates a 'life skills' component designed to familiarize participants with behavioural requirements under training and employment conditions.

DACUM *Process of Curriculum Development.* This project is directed to the refinement and development of a systematic approach to the design of curricula. The DACUM (Developing A Curriculum) approach involves the participation of employers and experts in the occupation in defining the nature and structure of the skills required in a particular occupation. The objective is to express training objectives in terms of behavioural skill levels rather than knowledge and to provide a basis for evaluation at entry level, during training, and in post-training employment.

Among the other projects of Nova Scotia NewStart are a number of community-service projects aimed at providing information and at increasing participation and involvement of various disadvantaged groups within the community. A number of 'contextual studies', using demographic and survey data, have been carried out to clarify the concepts of disadvantage and to investigate the factors which determine and perpetuate conditions of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment and unemployability in Yarmouth County. The Corporation has also produced a number of papers on action-research methodology and evaluation of various organizational models for the conduct of applied social science research in support of human resource development. Detailed information on these and other projects is available in the document *Abstracts of Reports* from the Corporation.

Prince Edward Island NewStart

Prince Edward Island NewStart operates in Kings County, with headquarters in Montague. Kings is the easternmost of the three counties of P.E.I. It includes somewhat less than one third of the land area and less than one fifth of the population of the Island, about eighteen thousand people.

The economy of Kings County is based on the primary industries of farming and fishing, and on a number of small secondary industries related to the processing and marketing of produce from these two primary industries. Many of the people of Kings County are tied to marginal farming and fishing operations. There are high seasonal unemployment, low wages, and low productivity. The traditional way of life is slow-paced, and the people are generally resistant to change, suspicious of government and of outsiders. P.E.I. NewStart has experienced difficulty in recruiting trainees for its training programs and in getting 'graduates' to accept the jobs for which they were trained.

Adult Basic Education P.E.I. NewStart has conducted a number of studies to evaluate the suitability of the Method for Intellectual Development (MIND) materials for use with Canadian adults in basic communication and computational upgrading courses. Results indicate that significant changes in grade level and intelligence test scores can be achieved using the MIND materials under certain prescribed conditions. Results compare favourably with similar courses using more traditional classroom and textbook approaches.

Comprehensive Manpower Development System. P.E.I. NewStart has designed a prototype integrated Manpower Development System which has been in operation for approximately one year. This is an attempt to develop a flexible individualized approach to training. It is designed to accommodate the individual in terms of his particular training needs and his availability and capacity to learn. He enters the program at the level for which he is qualified, takes the training components and elements which he requires, and graduates when he has reached predetermined levels of skill and knowledge. The individual is not forced to conform to preset entry, progress, and graduation standards as a member of a class or course which enters, progresses, and leaves as a group. If this flexible approach to adult training proves practicable it will have important implications for all types of adult education.

Community Service Centres. In response to an apparent need in many rural communities, P.E.I. NewStart has experimented with the establishment and operation of Community Service Centres. Two such centres have been established, one in Morell and one in Souris. The centres serve two principal purposes: the provision of information and counselling services; and as a resource centre for certain types of adult training and community activity. In providing information they serve as links between the small rural community and the provincial and federal governments. Individuals are given advice on matters such as training, employment, mobility assistance, welfare, legal aid, and community development and organization. They are counselled on their rights to certain services and assisted in taking advantage of various government programs. The community service centres also provide day-care facilities, and have developed training courses for day-care attendants and for visiting homemaker services. Basic home-management instruction has been provided to the women of the communities in which the centres operate.

Saskatchewan NewStart

Saskatchewan NewStart is located in the city of Prince Albert. The city is an administrative and government centre for northern Saskatchewan, as well as being a trading centre for the surrounding farming communities. The city has very few industries, but the opening in 1968 of a large pulp mill has provided jobs for approximately five hundred at the mill and for another four hundred in logging operations.

Prince Albert is a gateway for movement into and out of the northern two thirds of the province. As such it provides an area of transition for Indians, Métis and whites, who leave northern reserves, traplines, and farms and attempt to integrate themselves into urban industrial life. Many arrive in Prince Albert with limited education, no occupational skills, and little knowledge of the world of work or the demands of urban life. Unemployment levels and welfare case loads are significantly higher in Prince Albert than in the provincial or national average levels.

Saskatchewan NewStart has concentrated its efforts on the development of materials, curricula, and procedures particularly suited to the needs of disadvantaged adults. The Corporation now has a variety of products in third and fourth-generation stages of development, and many of these are ready for operational testing. Saskatchewan NewStart has also been active in developing 'new careers' and in providing training for entry to such occupations as teacher aide, welfare aide, and small business operation.

Among the products of Saskatchewan NewStart are the following:

Adult Basic Education. Saskatchewan NewStart has been working with adult education materials for three different levels of need. Over twenty-five per cent of the adults in northern Saskatchewan cannot read and write, and for many of these English is a second language. For these illiterates, Saskatchewan NewStart has been experimenting with the Initial Teaching Alphabet invented by Sir James Pitman. Development of audio-visual techniques and new written training materials for use with I.T.A. is now under way. Special attention will be devoted to the problems of literacy training in English as a second language and the value of oral fluency in English prior to learning to read.

In order to prepare adults to qualify for the Adult 10 certificate issued by the Saskatchewan Department of Education, a number of approaches to academic upgrading have been tested. Self-teaching, programmed instruction materials, supplemented by text book and audio-visual aids of various kinds, were used in the initial course. Results were encouraging in that fifty-three per cent of trainees achieved the Adult 10 standing.

Life Skills Training. The disadvantaged adult has many problems other than lack of education and lack of occupational skills which prevent him from securing regular employment. These problems arise from the inability to handle the everyday demands of urban industrial life and to cope with normal personal, social and economic crises as they arise. Saskatchewan NewStart has developed a comprehensive "Life Skills" program to provide problem-solving skills and experience in such areas as family, health, budgeting, job-hunting, the use of credit, citizenship, etc. These skills are essential to personal and social adjustment and are a prerequisite to continuing employment and even to successful training for such employment. The Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills program has been widely recognized as filling a definite gap in the adult training provided to the poor, the disadvantaged and the native peoples of Canada.

Training Courses for Para-Professional Aides. During 1969-70 Saskatchewan NewStart experimented with the training of Teachers' Aides and Social Work Aides. Through the co-operation of the Saskatchewan Department of Education the Teachers' Aide program was particularly successful and most of the 'graduates' found employment in the school system. Social Work Aides have found employment in a variety of agencies and institutions. Because of the similarity between the course content of these two programs, it was decided to develop a generic training program for para-professionals and the term 'socanic' (skilled worker in social institutions) was coined for the job title. Details on the curricula and methods used in these training programs are available from Saskatchewan NewStart.

Alberta NewStart

Alberta NewStart has the largest area and the smallest population of any of the NewStart Corporations. Its area of operation is the northeast quadrant of Alberta–stretching from south of Lac la Biche to Fort Chipewyan in the north, and from the Athabaska River to the Saskatchewan border in the east. The population of the area is about sixteen thousand and, except for the towns of Fort McMurray and Lac la Biche, is spread thinly over the area–with small concentrations in isolated villages, Indian reservations, and Métis colonies.

The Alberta NewStart area differs from the other NewStart areas since it includes the huge Athabaska Tar Sands deposits and is experiencing an economic development boom. This industrial growth is expected to provide employment for all of the active and potential labour force within the area. The indigenous native population of the area, some seven thousand, have limited education, few occupational skills, and unsatisfactory work experience and history. They live for the most part on federal and provincial welfare, often in the most abject poverty, a poverty accentuated and perpetuated by the remoteness and isolation of their communities. The typical pattern in such frontier areas has been that skilled labour is imported while the native people are by-passed in the development which surrounds them. The objective of Alberta NewStart therefore, has been to develop and test methods of helping the native people of the area to acquire the skills and attitudes necessary to compete for the jobs which will become available.

Mobile Training Centres. The Alberta NewStart program is based on the premise that training programs for disadvantaged residents of isolated, small communities should be provided in the familiar surroundings of the individual's home community. It also recognizes that, for severely disadvantaged groups, the family and not the individual breadwinner must be the focus for development. This contrasts with the traditional practice of taking the head of the family away from his family and community to training facilities in some urban centre. To test the validity of these principles Alberta NewStart has introduced mobile family training centres in the isolated communities of Kikino, Janvier, and Fort Chipewyan. In these centres, the men are given academic upgrading, life skills, orientation to the world of work, and exploratory basic-skills training. The wives are provided with academic upgrading, homemaking, prenatal and child care, and basic family nutrition training. In order to free the parents, day-care facilities are provided for preschool children. This major demonstration project will produce a number of reports and 'packages' which will be of great significance in future programs for native people in Canada.

English with Ease Reading Program: This program attempts to develop concurrently the listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills of adults for whom English is a second language. The Cree and Chipewyan languages differ significantly in structure from English. Sounds familiar in English are not used in the native languages while other sounds not used in English are common in the other languages. Many of the trainees are learning English while still illiterate in their native tongue. There is, therefore, no foundation of literacy which would facilitate the transfer of reading and writing skills from one language to another.

To overcome these difficulties, an experimental literacy program has been developed using methods and materials appropriate to the life style of the trainees. Pictophemes and Language Master Cards are used to develop aural and oral familiarity with the language. Graded reading materials have been developed using a set of characters and situations appropriate to the local environment and cultural heritage. At present the program is highly structured and teacher-oriented.

Manitoba and New Brunswick NewStart Corporations

Brief mention should be made of the two NewStart Corporations established in 1969. New Brunswick NewStart operates in Kent County with headquarters in Richibucto. The area reflects economic stagnation and population decline. Approximately eighty per cent of the population are of Acadian-French extraction. The program of New Brunswick NewStart will be directly related to the regional development program centering on the growth centres of Moncton and Saint John. Adult education materials and life-skills programs will be developed in the French language by New Brunswick NewStart.

Manitoba NewStart has headquarters in The Pas and has an operating area within a 150 mile radius of The Pas. The problems here are similar to those in Alberta in that the native population is scattered throughout the area in small, isolated communities. The Pas has been designated as a special area, and incentive programs will be used to encourage industrial development. Manitoba NewStart activities will be closely co-ordinated with federal-provincial development programs and will concentrate on the preparation of the indigenous native population to participate in and benefit from the development anticipated in the area.

Newstart and Adult Education

The NewStart experience has served to confirm the need in Canada for applied research and development in ABE. The Economic Council has again drawn attention to the fact that over one million Canadians are functionally illiterate.

These are among the most disadvantaged Canadians for they have limited access to employment and earnings as well as severe constraints on the quality of life which they can enjoy. Verner (1966) points out that "a high proportion of functional illiterates (in the population) is generally characteristic of slow-growing areas." In another paper, Verner states that evidence now available indicates that the absolute number of illiterates in Canada is increasing. Many of these illiterates are in rural areas such as those where NewStart has operated, and NewStart has been particularly active in developing materials for various groups of illiterates. The elimination of illiteracy in Canada should be a high priority objective for adult education, and the materials developed by NewStart may prove valuable in this fight.

(4) Programs for Special Groups

To have "equal" access, some groups with unique needs require special kinds of programs. People who for reasons of geography or age or lack of facilities have not participated in regularly established programs can and do respond effectively when there is a special provision for them. Represented here are programs for women over thirty, for Eskimo adults, for black communities in Nova Scotia, and the anti-poverty program of Frontier College.

Quo Vadis: A Program for Women Over Thirty

CATHERINE MCLEAN (1965)

It was no surprise to the founders of the Quo Vadis School of Nursing that there were many women over thirty and under fifty who would be interested in undertaking a two-year program of preparation to become Registered Nurses. The school was established because we believed this to be the case. However, what was surprising to us was the fact that there are so many applicants wanting this kind of opportunity, and wanting it, in some cases, almost to the point of desperation. A year ago, we were gratified when an applicant wrote that this opportunity was "a dream come true – a second chance." Now we feel differently, rather like the tourist in India who gives a beggar child a rupee and is promptly surrounded by outstretched hands and clamouring voices. We cannot meet the need, we cannot even extend the opportunities in the near future, and therefore we must dash many of the hopes that we have raised. But it is a beginning.

It was just a little over a year ago that we brought together a group of interested people to explore the possibilities of a school for nurses, which would admit only the mature student, and which would have the timetable and the schedule geared to their needs. This idea grew out of a study of current trends in nursing education undertaken by the Catholic Hospital Conference of Ontario, entitled "The Quo Vadis Project." We believed that the graduates of such a program would make a significant contribution to the needs of nursing by reason of their maturity, stability, and strong motivation. We also believed that the opportunity thus provided would be welcomed by older women who need and want to work, but have no specific skills. Encouragement and support were rapidly forthcoming, and within months the College of Nurses of Ontario approved the proposal, the Ontario Hospital Services Commission agreed to finance it, and St. Joseph's Hospital, in the west end of Toronto, agreed not only to make its clinical facilities available for student practice, but to allow us to use the classrooms in the school until we could obtain our own building.

A capable, experienced Director, Miss Margaret Mackenzie, having only just returned to Canada from World Health Organization duties in India and Tanzania, was engaged by the Board of Directors shortly after they themselves had been constituted. Four more highly qualified and experienced instructors came on the job during the following weeks, in spite of the perennial shortage of qualified nurse-educators. In September, 1964, thirty-two students were enrolled as the first class of the Quo Vadis School of Nursing.

From the beginning, the founders and staff have insisted on rigid adherence to a number of basic principles in curriculum planning, education methods and selection of students. The first of these is that every student is an individual with her own capacities and needs, which must be considered before she is accepted, and throughout her two-year program. This implies careful screening through individual interviews and a whole day of writing tests under the supervision of a qualified psychologist experienced in working with student nurses. It also implies the constant availability of individual and group counselling services. The fact that three months have passed without a drop-out testifies to the wisdom of this approach, since this is a rare occurrence in schools of nursing.

Secondly, the students are adults and must always be treated as such—in the classroom and out of it. This has not been easy for instructors accustomed to teaching young high-school graduates, and it has been made more difficult by the unrealistic complaints, worries, and fears of the students. However, thanks to basic convictions and some timely support from the Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, whose sex was an important psychological reinforcement, the worries are disappearing, the fears are being replaced by a growing sense of security, and the complaints more relevant. Receiving a mark of only 86 out of 100 is no longer a cause for minor hysteria.

Thirdly, the program content and schedule must remain flexible. In the first instance, these were based on certain assumptions about the needs and capacities of the students; now they are being altered to meet our changing concepts of such needs and capacities. This may be most clearly illustrated by reference to the course in Pharmacology, for which basic mathematical skills are clearly indispensable. We knew from the pre-entrance tests that nearly all of the students were well above average in basic intelligence, but that nearly all were very deficient in the area of mathematics and science. This is hardly a surprising fact, considering the number of years they have been out of school and it is one with which the staff was prepared to deal. The dimensions of the problem were, however, not realized until actually faced, as, for instance, when one instructor recognized that it was taking her three times as long to cover the basic mathematics for these students as it previously took her to cover the same materials with the seventeen and eighteen-year-old students.

Conversely, the selection program indicated that the older students would have comparatively little trouble relating meaningfully to their patients. The staff was pleasantly surprised to find that the students exceeded expectations in this regard. Thus, the practical experience was easier, the classroom work—initially, at least—more difficult. Changes are therefore being introduced into the present curriculum and a different organization is planned for the class beginning in September 1965. The readiness of the teachers to do this not only reassures the students, but maintains an adherence to the principle of flexibility.

This is but the opening chapter in a pioneering venture, not only for the education of nurses, but for the development of opportunities for older women to return to school. We have much to learn still, but the success which has attended our efforts thus far has instilled in us an incurable optimism about the future. At the same time, we are haunted by the disappointment we must inflict on those whom we cannot take by reason of the size of the school, or because potential candidates are unable to meet academic or personal requirements. Some can become qualified, and are doing so. One woman is attending high school full time in order to obtain the necessary Grade XII diploma, and many others are taking the courses they missed and are required to have, mainly Chemistry and Physics.

But what of the others? What, particularly of those who cannot quite measure up to the standards we set, but for whom little else is available? And, perhaps more important, what of those who come to us, not because it is nursing they particularly want, but because they are attracted by the concept of a school restricted to adult students, providing a specific training for a specific job, and emphasizing attention to, and concern for the individual. We cannot guess how many of these there are, we can only be sure that they are numerous and that our society can ill afford to disregard their talents and their strong desire to be useful.

Education of the Adult Eskimo

DAVID KEENLEYSIDE (1966)

One of the chief arguments advanced in favor of the massive educational program undertaken by the federal government among Eskimo (and Indian) children is that education is the key to freedom. Education, it is maintained, will enable Canada's indigenous peoples to choose freely the kind of life they wish to lead and its location; accordingly they will be in a position to compete with their fellow citizens across the country.

This sort of thinking also underpins the federal government's more recent efforts to provide educational opportunities and facilities for adult Eskimos. After some twenty years of Federal involvement in northern education, and nearly that time in adult education of one form or another, it is relevant to inquire whether its recipients have, in fact, achieved a measure of freedom. First, however, let us look at the nature and scope of the government's activities.

They fall into two categories. Under the first comes a variety of uncoordinated, *ad hoc* arrangements: specific classes for interested adults in a particular settlement, job training in a number of fields for selected candidates, and government employment (on-the-spot training) on a casual or permanent basis. The classes are generally conducted by the schoolteacher in his or her spare time or by any other capable white person in the settlement. *(For the educative aspects of the new rental housing program, adult education workers are brought in from the south on a contractual basis. They have little or no prior knowledge of Eskimo communities and the problems that beset these communities.)* Depending on the needs and interests of the "pupils", subjects range from Basic English to home economics, hygiene, or outboard motor care and maintenance, etc. Job Training includes the occupations of carpenter, electrician, diesel mechanic, nurse's and teacher's aide, clerk, co-operative manager. Candidates for these training courses are recommended by the administrators of the various settlements and are accepted—or rejected—on the strength of the application submitted. Employment offered by government agencies is usually as clerk/interpreter to the administrator, school janitor, special constable to the R.C.M.P., equipment operator, or general laborer providing garbage collection and other services. The Eskimos participating in these classes, courses, and occupations are, for the most part, between the ages of twenty and forty, and have had either no formal education or at best four to six years.

The second category encompasses a number of activities that, while they are not direct learning or training situations, do clearly have educative side-effects. Principal examples are the community council, the community housing association, a local entertainment club and a local co-operative when no training opportunity is furnished. Here the range of participants' ages extends considerably beyond forty years and includes a significant proportion of Eskimos with no schooling at all.

We have, then, a two-tiered assortment of adult education activities. I hesitate to use the word "program" of adult education since it is apparent that, with the possible exception of the new housing education, these activities lack the planning, coordination, and integration that are ordinarily implied by that term.

Furthermore, I am convinced from first-hand observation that the present arrangements do not provide the key to the type of freedom mentioned at the beginning. They only alienate the Eskimo from his traditional world and frustrate his efforts to enter the contemporary world. On the one hand, a job and involvement in modern community matters draws him away from strict adherence to the nomadic food-gathering life. On the other, specific vocational training tends to pigeon-hole him. Not only does his movement within the new northern economy (and the northern landscape) become restricted, but his ability to adapt to—and function in—the technological environment of urban Canada, if he wishes to try it, remains severely handicapped. Frequently, the job an Eskimo has been trained to do in the north has become obsolete in the more sophisticated economy of the south. His five or six years of elementary education hardly equip him with the flexibility needed to cope with this situation and to seek an alternative occupation. If his job is transferable from an indigenous community to a southern town or city, he will encounter other obstacles to his relocation. These obstacles can be attributed again to the lack, in almost any tiny northern settlement, of a co-ordinated and comprehensive approach to the problem of adult education.

For example, it is likely that the Eskimo's command of English or French does not extend much beyond the exigencies of his job; furthermore, he is bound to be deficient in many intellectual and social skills that would facilitate his survival in our immensely complex society. Apart from having acquired a rudimentary knowledge of home economics, his wife will be in no better position, since adult education activities are oriented toward the interests of the individual rather than the needs of the family. The cruellest obstacle will be the job itself, wherever it is performed, which condemns him and his dependants to a life little above the line of poverty.

For behind the proclamation that education means freedom lies the truth—*the vast majority of adult Eskimos are merely trained to fill local gaps in the southern-style economy being introduced by southerners into the north.* Thus the indigenous population acquires marginal status, living on the fringe of two worlds.

The fallacy of freedom also affects the indirect educational activities. The community council and the housing association offer the Eskimos the *illusion* of collective self-determination. In the council an Eskimo has the opportunity to air problems and complaints, to express opinions. Through the awareness that he represents others in the community, he begins to understand, even if dimly, the processes of democratic government. But all too often a community council would collapse, were it not for the presence of an autocratic and ethnocentric white administrator. The latter tends to impose his will on the group so that in the end it carries out his wishes. Moreover, the administrator can steer the council's discussion through items of only minor importance; for example, the storage of extra skins, deciding who will construct a hunter's cabin, organizing a summer clean-up program. The administrator and the bureaucracy above him easily prevent the council from playing a role that could alter the fundamental character of the community and the government's policy toward it.

Similarly, the housing association, which has sprung up in many settlements in conjunction with the government's rental housing program, is impotent. It has largely a paperwork function, that of signing notices of occupancy and rent reassessment; beyond that it can do little more than decide on the assignment of houses to tenants. Regrettably the association is unable to serve as a spokesman for its particular community; unable to have a voice in the design and the layout of the houses in order to ensure that they take full advantage of the special topographical and climatic features of the settlement; unable to determine rents that conform with local economic realities.

The co-operative movement is somewhat different. It has resulted, in many cases, in a substantial growth of local and regional economic independence. Such a development has obvious psychological benefits too. The success of the co-operative, at least as a concept, is partly attributable to the fact that it utilizes the sense of a common good which characterized Eskimo communities in earliest times. However, in spite of these positive signs and in spite of the educative aspect of the co-operative, the movement has not given the Eskimos a genuine feeling of freedom in the management of their affairs.

Often a co-operative is literally run by a resident white man. There are instances where it is operated by a missionary who uses the co-operative as an instrument of his church; the effect of this in a multi-religious community is, ironically, to disrupt it. Where no white resident is in charge, a government co-operative officer visits the settlement regularly. Such an official, while presumably an expert in the co-operative business, is apt to possess little general knowledge of the Eskimos, their language, and their many problems. Yet he is empowered to make the vital decisions affecting a particular co-operative—decisions that frequently ignore the intricate social forces at work in the community.

The failure of adult education to provide the freedom of choice it claimed to can be traced, in my view, to two fundamental errors on the part of the federal government.

The first is the unfortunate mis-timing of its efforts. Extensive federal educational programs in northern communities began with the establishment of day elementary schools, followed by residential schools, vocational centers, and high schools. Serious recognition of the needs of adults came much later. Even now, in terms of funds, staff and facilities, adult education takes a very definite back seat to elementary education.

Logically, the prime concern should have been for the elders of a community. An effort should have been made first to help them understand some of the elements of the new socio-economic structure that was beginning to impose itself on the north, and appreciate the impact that these changes would make on their traditional life. In this initial educative process, the parents would conceivably have been offered the chance to participate in a comprehensive and long-range program of adaptation and liberal training (ideally in their own language at the outset). At the very minimum, they would have been gradually prepared to accept the idea of a school for their children and the reasons for it. This procedure would have gone far to avoid the present fear and suspicion with which many adult Eskimos with no formal education regard the community school, and to eliminate the painful generational gap that is tearing families and communities apart. It would by now have provided many a thirty- and forty-year-old Eskimo with an infinitely sharper awareness of the range and complexity of Canadian society, and of the options available to him. And it would have equipped him with the skills and insight to make an intelligent and reasoned choice.

The second error is the persistent over-emphasis of adult education activities on job training and the job itself. Government thinking suffers from a hangover of the Protestant ethic that work–no matter how wretchedly dull–is good and ennobling. Furthermore, there seems to be an attitude that a wage-earning job of whatever nature is automatically the highest form of work, even if that job is sweeping floors and emptying toilets six days a week! In a technological and leisure-hungry era, such notions strike the observer as odd. In a time when people of all ages and conditions are going back to school in droves or remaining in school for longer periods, it is also strange–indeed tragic–that bright young adults, but with a scant five or six years of education, are whisked off to perform these menial, gap-filling jobs.

The present situation in northern communities can lead–in fact *is* leading–to a generation or two of confusion, poverty, alienation, and frustration. One often hears the glib remark that some generation will have to be sacrificed on the altar of transition and it might as well be today's adults.

There is, however, a way out. It requires the making of some difficult political decisions, which I am not certain this country is yet prepared to make. It requires taking a hard and frank look at the future of the majority of our arctic settlements. It requires offering these isolated populations a clearcut choice: *of remaining in remote hunting communities with a minimum of outside influence (the traditional trading and mission facilities), or of relocating in regions of Canada that have a genuine* *potential for economic and social growth,* such as the northern development corridor proposed by Acres Research Ltd. The second alternative would, of course, entail educating entire families to their fullest capacity so that they could participate completely and vitally in modern society.

A tough policy for a government? Perhaps, on the surface. But in the long run it would be more humane. It would restore to an Eskimo a sense of identity and freedom within his traditional world. Or it would give him the *real* freedom to move through the vast dimensions of the modern world. Above all, it would replace the costly and pitiful spectacle of a people trapped in a limbo—culturally and economically emaciated—between two worlds and belonging to neither.

The Beechville Experience

W. P. OLIVER (1969)

Beechville is one of twenty-five or more Black communities in Nova Scotia. The majority of Nova Scotia's eighteen thousand Black people live in segregated communities that were established over one hundred and fifty years ago, when they were settled by the province as refugee slaves from the United States.

For generations Black communities were accepted as depressed, with the majority of the residents being under-employed, under-educated and under-housed. It was concern about this total situation that resulted in programs of Adult Education being initiated in many of the communities.

In 1948, fourteen communities had programs sponsored by local education committees. For a number of years the Division of Adult Education of the Provincial Department of Education classified this program as a service to minority groups and one of top priority.

The programs were organized on the basis of the felt and expressed needs of the community residents. The local education committee was responsible for promotion and liaisons with the Division of Adult Education. The programs of the first six years were mainly academic, because the residents felt it was important that their people learn to read and write. Concurrent with the Adult Evening Class program, monthly meetings were held with the Black teachers. These meetings provided an opportunity for them to express their concerns about teaching adults, their problems in the public school, and programs for their own professional upgrading. In addition, leadership seminars, conferences on community related subjects were held periodically.

Following six or seven years of this format, it was noted that the number of formal classes was declining, and that there was a growing interest in vocational subjects, such as sewing, woodworking, sheet metal work and home nursing. During this change in class content, there was a growing interest in practical community problems, such as the quality of teachers, school buildings, highways, sanitation, housing and employment. At this point, the name of the local community committee was changed from Education Committee to Education and Community Development.

In 1962, eight community committees in Halifax County were organized into the Halifax County Negro Education and Community Development Council. This organization became a vehicle for inter-community communications and a technique for the effective use of resource people from government and the private sector.

The council has been functioning for several years and continues to be a valid approach for the development of leadership and community development. The strength of the council approach appears to be the fact that it is based on self-determination, and decisions are made by the people whose lives are to be affected.

The Beechville Project

The Beechville Project is based on the organizational concepts that evolved during the period 1948 to 1964. The Beechville Education and Community Development Association had arrived at a point where they had identified their priority in community needs as that of housing. Two approaches were open to them. They could have the Provincial Department of Welfare place a social worker in the community who would be financed by Welfare Grants assistance, or they could continue to use the educational approach through the maximum use of their own resources and skills. The services and assistance of outside agencies would be requested when the group identified a special problem.

The community elected to follow the course of self-determination. Having elected to pursue this course, the Beechville Education and Community Development Association was incorporated by an act of the Provincial Legislature in 1967. The Board of Directors became the legitimate representative of the community. Probably the first taste of achievement and the confirmation of strength in the organization resulted from their negotiations with the Halifax County Municipal Council for the surplus school in their community. Following two years of telephone and letter writing, thirty of the residents with a prepared brief appeared before the Council to request the building and supported their request by outlining the community program planned by their Board of Directors and the residents. The school was turned over to the Directors of the Beechville Education and Community Development Association during that session of Council.

A proposal was presented through the Division of Adult Education to the Provincial ARDA Committee, resulting in a four thousand dollar capital grant for remodelling the centre and a two thousand dollar annual maintenance grant for a period of five years. The centre is in its fifth year of operation, programs have been sponsored by all age groups. University students were invited to provide tutoring services on Saturday mornings, provisions were made for supervised study periods during the week, the parents were concerned that their children were at a disadvantage when they first entered the white school, as a result they organized a *full-time pre-school program*. With a Dalhousie University Faculty of Education professor as director and instructor, three mothers have worked with this program voluntarily. They assist with the children during the sessions, organize the parents and have a general oversight of the program, reporting periodically to the Board of Directors.

A program of junior leadership was developed as a result of a request from the youth for a leader to assist them to organize. Discussion of this request resulted in several of the youth deciding to sponsor a Summer Program for the younger children of the community.

Concurrent with these projects and classes such as art, sewing, bugle band and others, four co-operative housing groups have been formed involving twenty-six men. The housing groups meet in the centre for study before they commence construction. The first group of twelve began in November of 1965, since then three other groups were organized and at the date of writing, twenty-one families will be moved into new homes located in a planned subdivision, with all services such as electricity and water. By fall, twenty-six of the forty families in the community will be in a new home.

Someone may ask; How did they start a housing project? The community had for a number of years had discussions on community problems, such as the location of auto salvage yards in the centre of their community and the pollution of the lake in their community by service stations. They had experienced disappointment because no one seemed to be able to correct these violations. They had discussed and sponsored clean-up weeks, and Home Improvement Contests.

During one meeting, they discussed the relevance of the development of an industrial park adjacent to their community. For some, it presented a threat; they felt their community might be relocated. Their knowledge of the Africville relocation added to their fears. For some, it suggested that sewers and water lines would be going through their community. Many felt that they should be prepared for this improvement in services. After considerable discussion, it was decided that the condition of their homes was such that they could not be raised to have the necessary foundations constructed. What they needed were new homes. This was the decision that gave perseverance and tenacity to their struggle to meet all the requirements of the Nova Scotia Housing Commission.

The project had the support of the community. The fear of dispossession had been dispelled through a community self-survey which indicated where they wished to build, what type of home they required and what they could afford.

The co-operative scheme of house construction as sponsored by the

Nova Scotia Housing Commission requires that applicants contribute labour. Despite the desire and determination of the first group, they had no skills in construction. They needed outside resources, and they recognized this. They contacted the owner of a construction firm who had vast experience in home construction, and who also had a personal interest in helping. He came to the group and offered assistance by way of organizing the work tasks and in general putting the project "on the rails". He spent many hours with the group and today he reports that the men not only built their homes, but many who started out as unskilled labourers are now being employed by members of the second and third group to construct their kitchen cabinets, to lay their tile and other trade tasks that the first group had to have done by tradesmen.

This experience suggests that most people can do far more than they think they can. The Adult Education approach to Community Development is based on work *with* people, not *for* them. Most people will respond if they are involved in the decision-making process and they understand wherein they are to benefit. There is a stage where outside assistance is required, however, its effectiveness depends upon how it is given.

What Was Learned?

Practical Skills:

(A) Reading and comprehension of Housing Commission policies.
(B) Discussion of these policies as a group with housing authorities.
(C) Communications with municipal and provincial authorities in the course of implementing the policies; i.e., building inspectors, suppliers and municipal officers.
(D) Reading blue-prints.
(E) Learning all the skills required in the construction of a home, from the foundation to the final finishing.
(F) There were those who learned the rudiments of bookkeeping.
(G) The matter of mortgages and interest rates took on a new meaning. A very practical introduction to mathematics through the use of the rule, in such activities as the measurement and ordering of lumber and other supplies. In the excavation of foundations and the purchasing of fill, cubic measurements became realistic.

Human Development

There have been four groups to date: the first three went through several months of study relative to the philosophy of co-operative building and group participation. The fourth group was formed on paper and each individual built his own house.

Members of the first three groups invariably refer to this approach as a mistake and point to the fact that members of the fourth group don't assist one another. In fact, members of the first three groups have volunteered to assist individuals in the fourth group.

Probably the most significant change was observed in the area of co-operation. Two brothers who had each completed their homes, undertook to build for their sister whose husband was disabled as a result of war-time injuries. The house was completed by the two brothers, and their sister has now moved in and will spend Christmas this year in her new home.

The spirit of co-operation was noted throughout the construction period by the part the women played. Much of the painting inside and out was done by the wives. In many instances, the women refinished furniture for their new homes.

The impact of the new homes upon the lives of the children is reflected by the innumerable progress reports one received from them, such as: "We got the roof on our house today." Other children stated that they no longer hesitated to accept invitations to their classmates' homes, because they could now return the invitation without embarrassment.

It is quite common to see friends from the old community utilizing the facilities of their friends in the new homes. A new awareness of the importance of personal grooming has developed.

The appearance of lawns, flowers and shrubs around the new homes is in direct contrast to the bareness of the old homes they had vacated.

It is difficult to articulate the learning that has taken place in the area of racial relations. It can be said that of the twenty-six families in the project there are two white families and three inter-racial families, white and black. They are living together and have worked together without any racial overtones.

Frontier College: An Innovative Anti-Poverty Approach

IAN MORRISON (1969)

Canada enjoys a standard of living surpassed by only two other countries in the world. Our level of education, however, is ninth in the world.[1] In an age of rapid technological change this gap between national wealth and human investment points to a crisis for all Canadians: Canada is an under-educated country. The high level of educational investment in recent years—directed towards young people—may, in time, resolve the crisis. But this investment has not been evenly applied; it is concentrated on children and youth, especially from affluent regions.

In 1965, forty-three per cent of Canada's adult population had obtained only eight years of schooling or less;[2] by 1970, thirty-three per cent of the labour force had eight years of schooling or less.[3] These figures refer to educational attainment, not to a functioning level of education, which would be much lower. For Canada this legacy of under-education represents a waste of human potential. For individual Canadians without a complete basic education, second class citizenship is the result, a discrimination more pervasive than that attributable to ethnic origin or language. Seventy per cent of low-income family heads had only eight years of schooling or less in 1961.[4]

Even today what investment is placed in ABE in Canada? In 1969 the Department of Manpower spent $240 million in adult training through the Canada Manpower Training Programme.[5] Seventeen per cent of those admitted to programs had eight years of education or less:[6] an investment of less than $50 million. Industrial training, apprenticeship, and occupational training programs, almost always require a grade ten level of education as a prerequisite and the Adult Occupational Training Act provides for no more than fifty-two weeks of instruction in any one subject area (for example, in basic education).[7] This provision works to exclude from programs persons who require more than one year to reach a grade ten level. The people who most need help are the very people who are ignored.

Since 1899 one organization has worked in this educational vacuum: Frontier College. The original and continuing purpose of Frontier College has been to extend community education resources to areas where no other service was available. The brainchild of Alfred Fitzpatrick, from Pictou County, Nova Scotia, who had been a missionary with the Methodist Church, Frontier began from his personal discovery that literacy represented the greatest need in logging shanty camps in the Algoma region of Northern Ontario. Early fieldworkers discovered through direct experience that the best entrée into a working community was to work hard themselves. From this approach was born the concept of the labourer-teacher. By 1904 labourer-teachers were placed all across outlying Canada, in English and in French-speaking communities.

"The Prime Minister and I have something in common." Escott Reid diplomat and educator, speaking as Principal of Glendon College. He was introducing Lester Pearson in 1966. "We are both ministers' sons. I remember working for Frontier College in the twenties. Our foreman used to shout: 'C'mon you damn barbers and ministers' sons!' I never discovered what he had against barbers." Ray Farquharson, late Chairman of the University of Toronto medical school was a labourer-teacher. So was J. R. Mutchmor, former moderator of the United Church. One summer a young medical student from the United States came to Canada to work for Frontier; his name was Benjamin Spock.

In 1914 the young organization was incorporated in Ontario as the Provincial College. In 1922 Parliament passed the Frontier College Act, a charter unique among Canadian educational organizations, all others being chartered through Acts of Legislature.[8] Clause 10 of the Act gave to Frontier College the power to grant degrees, a power that was later questioned by the Ontario government.

In the late 1920's Ontario contributed a substantial annual grant to Frontier College. Ontario asked Frontier to request the deletion of this power and, when Frontier refused to do so, withdrew financial support. The year was 1930 and with falling income from the private sector, Frontier College were forced to request from Ottawa an Act to amend the Frontier College Act to delete Clause 10. When this Act was passed in 1932, Ontario reinstated its grant. Alfred Fitzpatrick resigned, his dream of a workingman's extension university in ruins. Three persons had received Bachelors' degrees from Frontier College before 1932.

The struggle between Fitzpatrick and the Ontario government illustrates the concept of adult education in 1930. In the government's eyes the Frontier College Act infringed upon the province's exclusive jurisdiction in the field of education under Section 92 of the British North America Act. Why the infringement? Because the federal government had given Frontier College the power to grant degrees. That is to say, adult education, to be considered 'education', had to involve studies at an advanced level, a university level. Adult basic education, as pioneered by Frontier College, was not considered 'education'!

For Edmund Bradwin, Fitzpatrick's successor, the struggle represented a vindication. His view was that Frontier College ought not to concentrate on higher education, but rather upon basic education at a grass roots level in outlying areas. He disavowed all competition with existing educational facilities. Instead he chose to focus upon areas where no other opportunities were available. His influence has directed the emphasis of Frontier College outreach until the present.

In the 1930's, in spite of mass unemployment, Frontier College placed more labourer-teachers than ever before or since. In the depths of the Depression about 200 labourer-teachers were placed each year, most of them as volunteers in the Canadian army's program for unemployed, transient men. Thousands of men were conscripted into the army to do public works projects at a wage of twenty cents daily; "Bennett's twenty centers" they were called, and Frontier College labourer-teachers worked with them.[9]

The Second World War brought rapid expansion to the Canadian economy, and with expansion, rapid technological change. Yet the most dramatic economic changes took place after 1945. Thirty per cent of the Canadian labour force worked in the primary industries in 1945. In 1969 only ten per cent of the labour force was so employed. Rapid growth of the urban service industries has characterized the post-war years and with this change Frontier College has changed too. Where once Frontier's constituency was the majority employment area, now it is a minority area —a small minority area. Where once a strong back and a strong will sufficed for a steady job, skills are now a prerequisite to secure employment in agricultural, mining and logging communities, in fishing villages and construction sites. For a person without useful skills and a complete basic education, secure employment is impossible. The right to work is in question for many thousands of Canadians who have not received the human investment society has freely given to others. Today Frontier College labourer-teachers represent a bridge between thousands of Canadians, both new and native born, and opportunities for greater security, independence, and mobility. That is to say field-workers assist individuals and communities to gain a greater measure of control over the situation in which they find themselves.

Under the Act, Frontier College is governed by a Board of Governors, elected annually by the members—the former labourer-teachers. The present Board contains former labourer-teachers and individuals from trade union, business and university backgrounds. Frontier operates from a small Toronto office with a permanent staff of eight persons. About one hundred labourer-teachers are placed each year on a budget of about $150,000: $1,500 per field-worker. Although Frontier College is chartered federally, only limited financial support comes from Ottawa in the form of a grant. Most provinces support Frontier College with grants; proportionally the best support is from Quebec. Government and crown corporation contributions represent about one third of Frontier's income. The balance comes from the private sector: from students' unions, companies, trade unions, foundations, service clubs, and individuals.

Several thousand people express a serious interest in working for Frontier College each year. More than one thousand apply. Several hundred potential locations for service exist. Thus, the only limitation on expansion is a financial one. As an objective for the 1970's, Frontier College is seeking much greater governmental financial support. The aim is to secure equal contributions from the federal government, provincial governments, and from the private sector. At present two thirds of Frontier's income is from the private sector.

Labourer-teachers take on tough, manual jobs in outlying communities in all parts of Canada. For the volunteer the job provides an income; each field-worker receives the same income as his fellow workers for the same work done. However to each field-worker who honourably represents Frontier an income guarantee is made: for each full four months of service a labourer-teacher will earn at least $1,200 after room and board. If his income from the job Frontier assigns him falls below this level Frontier College pays him up to the guaranteed minimum. For longer periods the income policy is prorated.

For Frontier, the labourer-teacher's job puts him in close working contact with his constituency. By working hard—and in the process separating himself from the working man's negative image of a 'college punk'—the labourer-teacher begins to build rapport with at least some of his fellow workers. He is seen to have a function, and in this fashion he can overcome more quickly than other community workers the problem of entrée. If he continues to work hard, acceptance by at least some of his associates is quickly inevitable. He becomes one of them, is accepted by them, and can begin to offer a meaningful program because the host community trusts him and will inform him about local needs. It is to these needs, usually unpredictable, that the labourer-teacher must address himself.

But first, the job. It may be the 'grizzly' in an underground mine. Here the labourer-teacher must learn to break up rock with a sledge hammer–tons of rock. No skill beyond a rudimentary knowledge of the crystal structure of rock is required. The job is drudgery: mind-killing, back-killing drudgery. The shift may be eight hours, or ten or even twelve hours, day or night. In other mines labourer-teachers take jobs as muckers or timbermen, even miners' helpers or pipe-fitters.

In logging communities labourer-teachers may work as cutters if they are skilled on chain saws. Otherwise they may work as chokermen, pulling steel from a winch and 'choking', fastening the cable to the ends of jack pine or spruce, and then jumping clear, hopefully before someone in the clearing pulls a lever to activate the winch. In fishing villages labourer-teachers have worked as trimmers in fish processing plants, cutting the heads and tails off fish and separating rotting fish from good fish. On railway repair crews they shovel gravel, drive in spikes, or bend over all day long to pick up ties and tie plates. All of this to gain rapport, and all of this before beginning to work for Frontier College!

In his free time, such as it is, the field-worker initiates a program in response to diverse local needs and requests. In each of the locations needs will vary. Yet there are certain common elements to most programs. Each program implements a form of community education embracing three elements: adult education, community development (at a grass roots level) and social work or counselling. In this sense 'education' can be best described as helping people to gain the skills they need in order to get the things they want. The labourer-teacher is often more a facilitator than a teacher, a resource at the disposal of local residents.

The curriculum of Frontier College lies in the need of the community. Labourer-teachers find themselves called upon to teach a great variety of subjects, from literacy to birth control. Welding, calculus, astronomy, English or French as a second language, botany, first-aid, venereal disease information–all of these and many more subjects are offered in response to expressed needs. On many occasions outside resource persons are called in to teach specialized subjects. In this case the field-worker is in fact an organizer, a co-ordinator rather than an adult educator.

In common with many modern practitioners in adult education, Frontier has found that the relationship between adult learners and teachers is of far greater importance than pedagogy. This is so particularly with the disadvantaged adult, the individual who has not received a complete basic education. Trust between this person and his teacher is of crucial importance to the creation of a genuine learning experience. Functionally illiterate adults have learned to hide their lack of literate facility. Often months pass before a labourer-teacher develops sufficient trust with such a person that the individual will reveal his disability. Small, discreet seminars in 'basic communications' are set up as a result.

A program of this diversity requires very adaptable field-workers, persons who are able to adjust rapidly to new and difficult situations, persons who can rely on their own imagination in situations where external resources are few. A tolerance for frustrations is also essential, especially when one's most highly motivated students are laid off. Usually younger persons offer these qualities and Frontier recruits continuously on more than thirty Canadian university campuses to find the best possible applicants. Each year more than one thousand persons apply for the one hundred available positions.

Labourer-teachers extend adult education into the field of community development. It is very difficult at times to distinguish between the two. "Helping people to gain the skills they need in order to get the things they want": this definition of education lends itself to community education, to group work, as well as to academic or vocational instruction.

Often huge chasms exist between groups in outlying communities. Sometimes the gap is between the people who say they pay taxes and those on social assistance. On other occasions the rift is ethnic, dividing Métis from Indians, Yugoslavs from Germans, 'whites' from native peoples. It can be cultural, with deep splits between French-speaking and English-speaking groups. In 'company towns' the breakdown of 'community' occurs between single men in bunkhouses and families in townsites.

A task of the labourer-teacher is to bring people from differing (and mutually exclusive) backgrounds together, to form common bonds, and to promote community. Film can be an extremely effective catalyst to this form of community development. Frontier College receives full co-operation from the National Film Board. Film can entertain, it can educate, it can also promote discussion, change attitudes and what is more, it can draw together diverse groups into a single room or hall. On occasion labourer-teachers are able to use film to break down the multiple barriers to communication so that common problems and concerns are discovered. Seminars and classes can also have this important catalytic effect, as can recreational activities.

Once people reach the stage of considering their common problems their energy is no longer entirely dissipated in intra-community strife. Enemies external to the community, missed opportunities for special government support programs—it is towards issues like these that the community can address itself. The role of the labourer-teacher is that of a facilitator, a resource in the hands of local leaders.

In areas where community resources are underdeveloped labourer-teachers make reading materials available, in the form of libraries, magazine displays and book exchanges. They extend the resources of governmental services into areas where no cultural facilities would otherwise be available.

In addition to their roles in adult education and community development, labourer-teachers also become involved in social work or counselling activities, and not always by choice. Frontier College cautions its field-workers to avoid situations where they are called upon to advise persons on personal problems. This activity requires professional training and not all Frontier's volunteers have social work training. But after investing a few months in a location a labourer-teacher may be approached by an individual with a problem. At that point, the labourer-teacher is involved. His role is often just to listen, to allow someone to share a problem, to expose repressed tensions for examination and discussion. Labourer-teachers are trained in referral and they are in a position to assist people towards professionals in nearby towns or cities. Problems of marital breakdown, drug abuse, psychological disorder and legal obligation are common.

A second area of counselling pertains to job problems. So many people lack not just skills for secure employment but also information on how to acquire skills. A man with six years of schooling wants to become a welder. A married woman wants to take a hairdresser's course. Labourer-teachers extend the resources of Canada Manpower Centres to outlying areas by making known the adult training or job preparation programs available in larger centres. Manpower counsellors or industrial training officers are invited to speak in outlying locations. Frontier extends the resources of existing programs to areas they would otherwise fail to reach.

This then is the labourer-teacher program as it operates in fishing villages and mining towns, in construction and logging camps and on railway repair crews. Labourer-teachers are placed in all regions of Canada, roughly in proportion to the outlying population. There is some concentration in 'northern' areas although 'outlying Canada' (or Mid-Canada) better describes the constituency of Frontier College. In recent years as many as seventy-five labourer-teachers have worked during the summer months from April to September and thirty in the winter time. In permanent communities a continuous service is offered, in temporary or seasonal communities the service is flexible to the location. Some labourer-teachers serve one year terms although the minimum period of service is four months. This four month minimum soon may be increased although the present policy is designed to allow applications from university students.

In recent years large numbers of non-urban Canadians who previously worked on at least a seasonal basis have come to find that their work is no longer in great demand because they lack specific skills. With this economic change Frontier has come to search for new ways of meeting the needs of many people who could formerly be serviced by labourer-teachers. A new program has been developed to enable Frontier College field-workers to work with the unemployed or underemployed in communities where circumstances of economic change have concentrated these people.

Frontier has begun to contract with government or community organizations to place teams of field-workers in communities where no employment opportunities for the field-workers would otherwise be available. In this new program, the Community Education Program, Frontier pays salaries to its field-workers and covers all supportive costs. Contracts are signed to provide a full cost recovery to Frontier College. Thus, donated funds are used only to finance the Labourer-Teacher Program.

Activities in this new program often parallel those of the labourer-teacher except that the field-workers are employees who have their full time to devote to the program, not volunteers with only part-time availability.

On occasion Frontier contracts with provincial governments to conduct basic education programs on a full-time student basis. Sometimes the programs offer Basic Training for Skills Development (B.T.S.D. in Manpower terminology) with allowances paid to participants by the Department of Manpower. In such a case the field-workers will seek to extend their effective outreach by becoming involved in community affairs in their free time. In other contracts the educational component is a voluntary one with flexible courses offered to interested persons on a part-time basis.

In other contracts in the Community Education Program, Frontier's primary goal is to engage in community development work, helping local groups to come to grips with problems affecting their lives and their community. In these projects educational components are introduced as a secondary area of activity. A third area of concentration is resource development. The field-workers seek to help the community, and individuals within it, to take better advantage of existing government programs, such as housing grants, manpower training or economic development incentives.

This second program began at Elliot Lake in 1963. On that occasion, for the first time, funds under Program 5 of the former Technical and Vocational Training Act were used to finance the education of illiterate people. Accommodation was found in vacant housing, for Elliot Lake was depopulated at that time following a slump in international uranium markets. Twenty individuals from all over Ontario came to participate in this residential basic education program conducted by Eric Robinson, then Principal of Frontier College. Following evaluation of the results, a second sixty participant program began in 1965, leading to the creation of the Elliot Lake Centre for Continuing Education. Frontier College conducted the Centre's first program.

In a similar fashion Frontier initiated a basic education service in Frobisher Bay in 1967, which led to the creation of the Frobisher Adult Education Centre, Illivik. In Cox's Cove, Newfoundland, an outport north from Corner Brook, Frontier placed a married couple–its first such placement–in 1968. At present the majority of field-workers in the Community Education Programs are married couples.[10] Thus far projects have been initiated in Manitoba, Newfoundland, Ontario, Prince Edward Island and the Northwest Territories.

And yet the fact remains that far too little effort is directed to the people in greatest need of assistance, the large adult population of Canada lacking a complete basic education.

The unwitting emphasis in many government programs is to offer services to people other than those in greatest need. At least some government planners are aware of this weakness. "The hard fact of experience," wrote Tom Kent, Deputy Minister of Regional Economic Expansion, in his brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty in 1969, "is that unless a very special effort is made, the people who most need help are the people who get left out. Even the best of government programs tend to work for the people who are at least already on the margin of the economy, rather than the people below the margin."[12] Frontier College can make a greater contribution to this "very special effort," but only if governments offer the needed support.

When Frontier submitted a brief to the Poverty Committee on the discrimination of the present Manpower policy against the poor, Senator David A. Croll, the Committee Chairman, said: "The questions you have raised affect the whole of Canada. . . . I do not think you have failed in your mission or presentation. You should keep going after it. Do not let go. It is not only important to the Frontier College, it is important to people in Canada generally."[13]

Notes

1 Harbison and Myers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1964, 31-32.

2 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Special Labour-Force Studies: educational attainment of the Canadian population and labour force, 1960-1965*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer Catalogue, 71-505, Table 15. Canadians seventeen years of age and over are included.

3 *Canada Manpower Training Programme: Results of Training, January 1–September 30, 1969*, a report by the Hon. Allan J. MacEachen, then Minister of Manpower and Immigration to the House of Commons, June 22, 7.

4 Economic Council of Canada. *Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty*, No. 1, April 22, 1969, 44.

5 Hon. Allan J. MacEachen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, House of Commons Debates, April 10, 1970, 5750.

6 Hon. Allan J. MacEachen's answer to question No. 1359, by Mr. W. Kenneth Robinson, M.P., House of Commons Debates, Orders of the Day, No. 74, February 25, 1970.

7 *Adult Occupational Training Act*, 1967, Section 2, d.

8 Mr. Justice Bora Laskin, *Canadian Constitutional Law*, 3rd edition revised, Toronto: Carswell, 1969, 579.

9 Thomas Tanner, *Microcosms of Misfortune*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1966.

10 Copies of reports on community education projects and other information are available from Frontier College, 31 Jackes Avenue, Toronto 290. Enquiries are welcome.

11 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Adult Education: 1964-65*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer Catalogue 81-207, June 1967, 36.

12 Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty*, No. 11, November 27, 1969, 35.

13 *Ibid.*, No. 13, December 16, 1969, 29.

(5) Programs Arising from the Arts

It is hardly surprising that programs of adult education are responsive to economic need. But man hungers for beauty as well as for bread, for meaning and self understanding as well as survival. The arts and adult education are old and familiar partners although not everyone equally appreciated the relationship. The ties continued throughout the 1960's, sometimes in novel and distinctive patterns. Both the arts and adult education have had to battle for recognition and resources; both are allied in their concerns about full and balanced human development.

Theatre and the Churches

GORDON PARKER (1966)

"Modern life imperatively forces the author into combat; if, instead of retiring into the consolation of his faith, the Christian author brings his faith into the heart of the present conflict of values, then his metaphysics may, indeed, make a creative contribution to man's agonizing strife in an age which is so fraught with paradox and tension." (David Luytens, Tulane *Drama Review*)

The playwright who works in the realm of Christian Drama—or, if you will, who chooses to write plays which, in any profound way, have religious significance—must be in the heart of our contemporary conflict—and must write out of, and to, that conflict.

Playwrights are speaking—and the churches are beginning to listen—and to partake. There is a level, a brand, of theatre today which is not content merely to report the news of the day. It is compelled to comment.

The art of the theatre is wrapped up in life—reflects it, probes it, prods it, dissects it—as does the "art" of the church. A meeting is inevitable (not always happy, but inevitable).

When theatre and theology meet, however, the suspicion arises that the natural outcome of the union will be propaganda. True, there are malpractitioners here, as in all fields. And the arts are especially open to charlatans—significant numbers of whom are in church theatre. But this should not obscure the fact that there are many who do succeed in doing justice to the theatre and to theology.

In the best sense of the word, a propaganda play is one in which the playwright is more interested in the impact of ideas on his audience than in their impact on his characters. Its aim is to start one thinking—an increasingly difficult task. The word "propaganda" has led some critics of church theatre, and of much theatre generally, into all sorts of illogicalities. To suggest that the stage should never be used as a political platform or a pulpit is to imply that every playwright guarantees that he holds no convictions strongly enough to let them influence his writing. That is like demanding a certificate of intellectual impotence.

Bertold Brecht was a "propagandist" playwright. And a play such as *Henry V* has been known to set some minds in motion too.

Kenneth Tynan, the distinguished British drama critic, relates a moving story about the opening night of *The Diary of Anne Frank* in Berlin. He describes that evening as "the most drastic emotional experience the theatre has ever given me." That performance engulfed the entire audience in a general catharsis. Detachment was impossible. After the intermission "one man in front of me put his head in his hands and did not afterward look at the stage; he was not I believe, Jewish." After the play "the house lights went up on the audience that sat drained and ashen, some staring straight ahead, others staring at the ground, for a full half-minute. Then as if awakening from a nightmare, they rose and filed out in total silence, not looking at each other, avoiding even the customary nods of recognition with which friend greets friend. There was no applause, and there were no curtain-calls."

The best plays—from Aeschylus to Arthur Miller and Brecht—are more than diversions. We read and see them not only for the turns of phrase, but because they hold up before us capsules of society and its problems, because they relate to us and speak, at their finest to our whole beings. They convince us that what is happening on the stage, however far removed from us in time or place, is not different from what is happening in our lives.

Why should the church become involved in theatre? Basically because the church is involved in all of life—the whole man, whoever and wherever he might be. Specifically because theatre, properly conceived and executed, is one of the most forceful and potent means of communication available to man. And the church has something to communicate. In church buildings—and outside—it is concerned that people think.

The bias—the "propaganda"—the commentary on the news—is Christianity.

What of adult education and church theatre? Gilbert Highet once wrote that one of the chief duties of a teacher is to stimulate. Similarly, theatre can and should stimulate—to thought, to action, to study. The arts of the theatre and teaching have a great deal of common ground. They both, at their deepest, set out to "propagandize."

In Canada, church theatre is channelled through a unique organization called the Christian Drama Council of Canada. Founded in 1954 as an autonomous council—its aim is to involve the churches and other interested groups in theatre with "religious significance." It is a searching council—always reaching out for fresh sources and new avenues of communication. Through a varied program of library services, workshops, lectures, bulletins and acting companies, it is attempting to bring theatre into the church, and, perhaps more important, bring the church into the world of the theatre.

The implementation of these high aims is a gigantic task involving large amounts of education and enlightenment. Happily, the churches are increasingly becoming a part of the current Canadian involvement in the arts. The heritage of less-than-adequate church plays is gradually being eaten away by a serious approach to the art of the theatre.

Arts and Crafts Serving Adult Education

DONALD WETMORE (1968)

Talk, with face-to-face understanding, is the basis of adult education; and good talk stimulates study and action. We started talking twenty-five years ago; we urged a commonsense attitude towards the arts. Our director had said: the chief aim of adult education is to help people earn a living, live a life, and build a world. We guaranteed that the arts and crafts had a commonsense role somewhere in this. We slowly acquired a staff of eight resource people; we had to, there were so few in the province. And the staff talked—with people, at people, over the air, and through print, till we got dividends. The dividends showed that adult education is a good medium for arts exposure, and we discovered that when people are intrigued by the arts they look into their own potential. So we started building.

First we helped to create a climate, the acceptance of the arts as something like education—a citizen's right and a shared responsibility with government. If a man paid a fee for a concert or a course, the government would pay a share. While the principle wasn't always practised, the climate for it has been settled; the arts, with government support, are here to stay, weird, wild, and wonderful though they may be. It's no longer a mark of strange preferences to enjoy them nor to earn your living by them. They offer legitimate professional fields to youth, and they have become educational tools of inestimable value. Vocational schools have yet to assess their roles, but cannot ignore much longer the growing needs of the Canadian arts and crafts industry and its appeal to young people.

None of this was so twenty-five years ago. Today, in Nova Scotia the professional industry includes four professional theatres and a summer theatre, a symphony orchestra, an expanded college of art, fifty museums, ten regional library systems with forty-six branches and seventeen bookmobiles, numerous dance and music studios, many crafts boutiques, arts schools, arts festivals, arts departments with galleries and auditoriums in five of our universities, and a growing number of specializing school teachers. The CBC production centre in Halifax, other mass media outlets, and the new club and lounge circuits are part of the industry too.

Adult educators don't claim to have played a major role in this remarkable change of climate; but they have never stopped working for change, and perhaps they did. They concentrated on a change in the quality of people—a change that would intrigue them into being arts-conscious; "for or agin" didn't matter as long as there was concern.

So the staff of our government arts and crafts service answered requests from 4-H Club members and Ph.D. candidates, built a large library, talked wherever asked, assisted all kinds of established organizations, organized new ones, put on short courses, workshops, evening classes, residential schools, encouraged and adjudicated festivals, competitions, and even individual work. They were in on the initial founding of the N.S. Drama League, the N.S. Festival of the Arts, the N.S. Dance Association, the four professional theatres, and (in order to learn and promote) the Canadian Folk Arts Council, the Canadian Conference of the Arts, the Canadian Child and Youth Drama Association, the International Association of Theatres for Children, and the World Craft Council. They helped to initiate regional arts councils, regional associations, community projects, and they co-operated vigorously with the most valuable organizations that expressed an affiliate interest in the arts and crafts.

A lady once wrote to us: "Please come talk to our Home and School Association, and if you can't come let me know soon so that I can get some other kind of entertainment." We've always been delighted by this invitation because the lady confirmed we were on the right track. Our approach has always been to learn needs, talk over possible action, and then ensure involvement. We believe that when you talk to people about themselves and their capabilities and then involve them in doing something with their capabilities, then they are truly entertained. Other changes may happen, but the first important step is to be intrigued. We feel that this has been the basic reason for the new climate. Apt talk with participation started it.

We have taken on a few experimental projects—as examples, radio and television programs, adult creativity with children, program and curriculum guides, Nova Scotia folk music, the arts in leadership courses, speech courses, correspondence courses, regional writing and heritage, and we have even entered the university extension field on occasion. Wherever there has seemed to be a gap to fill or a need to meet we've tried to initiate something apropos. But our main job has been to draw out people into new attitudes towards the arts and crafts, and when you do this you are fulfilling the exact definition of the word "education".

We have not had any major abortions, but several pet programs have had to be dropped, notably our residential schools: folk schools, and our two summer schools of combined arts, one for adults and the other for youth. We tend to blame the attractions of television, but I think that these schools could be revived successfully if we had a Nova Scotia Residential Adult Education Center, in a fine rural setting with full up-to-date facilities.

One interesting development is that as attendance at our large combined arts schools declined, adult students asked for smaller residential schools concerned with only one or two subjects, and we now have a successful N.S. Dance Camp, 2 summer music schools, an attractive holiday painting school, a high-school drama summer school, and a complete provincial Youth Arts Agency that functions all year.

As climate changes so must our services change, and conversely our services must continue to help to change the climate to meet changed needs. We'll keep encouraging regional and community arts councils and keep pressuring for a generously funded provincial arts council, for more involvement with federally aided multi-cultural programs, for the enlightenment and assistance of municipal and county councils, and for greater university extension. And when these improvements come along, we'll be more free to change our basic service, to expand it to disadvantaged people and geographical areas and to meet the new pressing needs of youth as it becomes adult.

We do have a cultural policy which by its nature shall always be the impossible dream, but we have it as an enduring challenge: to further develop among Nova Scotian adults – 1) An awareness of the value of the arts and crafts in personal, social and economic life. 2) A desire to participate in cultural experiences. 3) Skills and knowledge appropriate to talents and interests.

I think we can be pleased with the intriguing and progressive changes that have happened in our small province over the past twenty-five years. They have happened in other provinces, and we're pleased we haven't lagged. We don't have the people and the money that larger, richer provinces have, but we try to try harder. We have a tradition and an environment for an arts flowering, and our climate has changed in a good direction. But one wonders why it all takes so long and why did most of the changes happen after 1967? Can we look back and review, then revise and go forward faster? I was told long ago that progress in adult education can be measured only by the micrometer. Now, I ask why? And I think of that old Spanish maxim: "What the fool does in the end, the wise man does in the beginning." Must enlightenment always be a turtle? Just think what Aesop's rabbit could have done with all that leisure time!

The Arts Need a Centre

MAVOR MOORE (1968)

Ever since most Canadians thought it a good idea *not* to have a revolution like the Americans, we have often prided ourselves on our ability to say "Nay!" We are better at saying what we are not than what we are: we are not American, nor British, nor French—but beyond that it is courting confusion to ask a Canadian what he *is*. Or even what he wants to be, except not an American, etc., etc. We are so good at not developing our natural resources that we allow even the Americans to do it for us; and so good at not developing our *human* resources that we take it for granted young people with talent will get the hell out.

When the head publicist for EXPO '67 was asked what his toughest job had been, he said it was to persuade Canadians that it would happen, that "we could do it." I was reminded of this a few weeks ago when a Toronto Politician in one of his periodic attempts to persuade us that the St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts will never happen, said to his fellow members of Toronto's Board of Control: "It's all very well for these people to have imaginary ideas"—(I think he meant "imaginative") —"but we haven't got enough money to have imagination!"

The question has been put squarely, and it's one with which this country, and this city, must come to grips. What *does* it matter to us? What *are* the important issues in our life and times?

To judge by the debate in this country about the decline in the value of our dollar, about American ownership of our industry, about distribution of taxes and so on, economics would seem to be our number one concern. But is it? In an interview a short time ago the distinguished Canadian expatriate John Kenneth Galbraith, one of the world's leading economists, made some startling comments on this subject. He was asked . . .

> *Q*. Should Canadians be concerned more about cultural domination by the United States or about economic domination?
>
> *A. This in an important question and one which I think is very much misunderstood. In good Calvinist fashion, when Canadians talk about cultural autonomy, they really have economics in mind.*
>
> *If I were still a practising as distinct from an advisory Canadian I would be much more concerned about maintaining the cultural integrity of the broadcasting system and with making sure Canada has an active, independent theatre, book-publishing industry, newspapers, magazines and schools of poets and painters.*
>
> *I would be very much concerned that the widest possible support was given by all levels of government to the preservation of the*

> *cultural traditions associated with the particular ethnic groups in Canada, and with French Canada. Also, to make sure that Canadian theatre and artists received encouragement. And that people weren't totally dependent on American magazines.*
>
> *These are the things that are important for the maintenance of cultural autonomy. I wouldn't worry for a moment about the difference between Canadian or American corporations.*

This revolutionary idea—that cultural deprivation is more important than economic deprivation; that calling your soul your own is at least as important as calling your money your own—is no more popular in Canada than most other revolutionary ideas. I recently asked a senior civil servant in Ottawa what, in the current economy drive, would most likely first feel the axe. "Cultural affairs", he replied. If Galbraith is right, this is not only false economy, but national suicide.

The idea may seem strange—even "imaginative", or "imaginary",—but it is hardly new. A hundred and fifty years ago, U.S. President John Adams wrote:

> *"I must study politics and war so that my sons may have the liberty to study mathematics, philosophy and commerce, so their children may have the right and privilege to study painting, poetry and music."*

The time President Adams foresaw has already arrived in the United States—and there is nothing "imaginary" about this. In 1960, 39 per cent of Harvard's senior class entered business after graduation. By 1964 (in only four years, that is to say) the percentage had sunk to 14. In 1966 a *national* poll in the U.S.A. indicated that only *12 per cent* of college seniors were thinking of business careers. By contrast, twice as many wanted careers in teaching and the arts.

Three years ago the Rockefeller Foundation published a Report on the Performing Arts in America, written by a panel—not of culture-vultures or artists looking for patrons—but of leaders in the fields of business, industry, labour and government.

> *"The ultimate test of democracy lies in the quality of the artistic and intellectual life it creates and supports. In history's final analysis a nation will be judged by the quality of the civilization it achieves, not by its material well-being. With this realization, has come a general re-evaluation of the role of the arts in society. We are beginning to see them as a culmination of other achievements—the attainment that in the end gives a society its hope for a lasting place in history, and its people the chance for the fullest freedom and happiness."*

Today in Ottawa there commences a conference which will decide the future of Canada. The "ultimate test" is upon us. And I think it has dawned on most of us by now that what the conference is all about has a good deal less to do with economics than it has with that abused word "culture." Suddenly culture—even in Canada—has become not a frill, not some game for the wealthy to play on the upper decks of the ship of state, but a matter of survival; for we realize that some Canadians are prepared to die for their culture. The debate is not unlike that recent one in Port Hope, about which you may have read, between students from English-speaking and French-speaking universities; by a margin of more than two to one, the student audience—in an Ontario university!—voted in favour of Separatism for Quebec. The reports of the debate (this from the Globe and Mail) is enlightening. It says, in part:

> "... *the debating teams arguing against Quebec independence were weak and unconvincing. They relied heavily on economic arguments, predicting chaos and disaster through increasing indebtedness, flight of capital, and a net loss of 200 million a year in equalization payments. They said separation would involve 'massive sacrifices of living standards which few would be willing to undergo.' But one of the judges said that warnings of economic disaster had rarely, if ever, deterred a people once they were set on a particular course. He pointed out that Eric Kierans said recently that economic arguments were the worst ones to put to the people of Quebec. And (one of the Quebec debaters) said that, just as Canadians generally accepted a lower standard of living than that of Americans to remain independent of the United States, so the people of Quebec would do the same to assure their own independence.*"

In brief, concentration on economic problems in this country, and neglect of our cultural affairs, has brought us near the edge of disaster. You may therefore forgive me if I suggest to you, in deadly earnest, that it is time we spent more thought and money on them before it is too late to matter. If we wish to have any "lasting place in history", we had better get busy on those things which can give us pride of place. We had better stop arguing about what things cost, and ask instead if they're worth it—and whether we can afford to do without them.

The City of Toronto had—and still has—as its Centennial Project a perfect case in point. I'd like to tell you its story, briefly: because when one gets down to a particular case—as in a test case in courts-of-law—it's often surprising how clear the issues become, how myths dissolve in the light of facts, and how judgment is forced to come to grips with reality.

Way back in 1962 the Toronto Planning Board issued a study of the downtown area. It said in part:

> "... *Toronto lacks a focal point, a centre of gravity, for the expression of its arts. The proposed development will serve as an important element in the artistic and cultural fabric not only of the immediate region but of the province and, indeed, of the nation itself.*"

The next year, 1963, the Federal and Provincial governments announced per capita grants for municipalities for the erection of Centennial projects –and these grants were designated, let it be noted, for buildings to be used for cultural purposes only. The $1,300,000 these grants represented, therefore, was *not* available for fountains, or parks, or roads or public johns–or any of the other fascinating and doubtless worthy alternative projects people still from time to time put forward.

In the light of this, the City of Toronto took a most sensible step. A group of public-spirited citizens was asked to form the Toronto Arts Foundation, to conduct an enquiry as to what cultural facilities were most urgently needed, and to oversee the planning and building. I want to make this point quite clear, because there has been much misunderstanding: the City sought out the Toronto Arts Foundation, not vice versa. It was not a case of a bunch of art-lovers trying to sell the City Council a bill of goods; the purpose of the Centennial project was defined by law and the City rightly set up a group of community leaders experienced in these matters to advise them. (I cannot here refrain from paying tribute to this remarkable group of Torontonians, who at great cost in time and energy and with no financial reward whatever, have stuck by the City's Centennial Project–*your* Centennial Project–for over four years of trials, including being called its "backers", "promoters", "plotters", and other names too unsavory for mention at mealtime.

So let me here knock two other wide-spread myths on the head. Both are contained in the complaint: "We don't need another theatre." You already know (I'll say more about it in a moment) that the Centre is much more than a theatre, it's a complex: Fallacy number two, that we have plenty of theatres already, is spoken out of an ignorance with which I try, like a good teacher, to be patient. We have one huge auditorium, the 3,200 seat O'Keefe Centre, which whatever its virtue for spectacles is totally unsuitable for plays. We have the Royal Alexandra, a finely restored theatre from the turn of the century, splendid for traditional picture-stage productions but useless for more modern styles, and at almost 1,500 seats twice too large for a resident company. (The theatre in London presently occupied by the National Theatre of Britain, for example, seats only 800.) And from the Royal Alex we drop to the small houses seating under 500, such as the Bayview Playhouse or the Library Theatre–with nothing in between except the auditoriums in our schools and universities, *which are seldom if ever available to outside professional users.* We have not, in fact, in this great metropolis, the flagship of English-speaking Canada, one single theatre of anything like the proper size and equipage to house a company of our own. Montreal–if I dare mention the name in this company–has several.

But back to my story. The Toronto Arts Foundation undertook a public campaign to raise 2,300,000 dollars–an unheard of sum in Canada–and in five months. The campaign raised, by the deadline, only 1,700,000 dollars; but this was still the largest amount ever raised from

Johnny Q. Public for a similar enterprise in Canada—which ought to knock on the head another myth: that the general public was apathetic and uninterested.

We still require a sympathetic re-hearing by the whole of City Council, which will have to pass on the whole down-town renewal plan and on our own Modified Plan for the Centre. Now I know that our City Council has many important matters contending for an already slim budget, taken from the pockets of already overburdened tax-payers; I know that on it sit a few die-hards who will always consider the arts a frill, and are unconcerned about the cultural deprivation of their community; I know that others, hard-working, just haven't had the time to think about it much; I know of others—and I'm greatly in sympathy with their point-of-view—who say, "Let's have it so long as we aren't asked to fork out any more money than we've allocated". But I am confident that reasonable men and women can be swayed by reasonable arguments.

First of all, what kind of a city is this that we live in? Among other things it is home base for one of the nation's two internationally famous orchestras, for the National Ballet Company, the Canadian Opera Company, the English language network of the CBC, the nation's largest university, the Canadian National Exhibition; it is the centre of the English language publishing, film production and recording, and (according to the New York journal Variety) "the third largest talent pool in North America following New York and Hollywood." Around the media of communications cluster the taste-makers for a whole nation.

As the Hon. Mitchell Sharp has said: "In my view Toronto must learn to take on to an increasing extent responsibilities of the metropolitan centre in English-speaking Canada; just as Montreal is the metropolitan centre for French-speaking Canada.... Whether the people of Toronto or Montreal like it or not, and whether other parts of the country like it or not, these two great cities cannot escape their responsibilities for the quality of Canadian life.... We still do not yet fully recognize our own importance in the Canadian scheme of things or our resulting responsibility to the rest of the country. If Toronto cannot provide a home for Canadian theatre, a training for Canadian actors, a living for Canadian artists, what other community can?"

Well, apparently Winnipeg can, Vancouver can, Ottawa can, Calgary and Edmonton can—but there seems to be doubt in some small minds whether poor old Toronto can. And yet in all this wide country we have no theatre devoted to our own plays for our own audiences—that is to say, if we are to develop those signs of creative expression which give a country what Mr. Sharp called its quality; if we are to talk to each other in a common language; if we are to contribute something useful and different to the world's cultural mosaic, this sort of thing remains as a challenge and a responsibility for the nation's largest English-speaking city.

And this is how we propose to meet it. The St. Lawrence Centre will be no theatre for casual rental to the highest bidder, wherever he comes from, nor a concert hall for well-heeled devotees of chamber music, but a coordinated project to meet some urgent needs in this community of ours. First, we need a medium-sized theatre where we can present our own plays, give our playwrights a voice and our actors a chance to speak in their own accents and ours. Such a company would, of course, travel to other centres, thus freeing the theatre for engagements by other companies from here and elsewhere. The theatre has been superbly designed, and will be one which architects and theatre people from all over the world will wish to study, just as they have studied our Stratford Festival theatre. In it we will have productions for children and youth as well as adults, and it will provide a home for some of our film societies.

The Town Hall will provide a meeting place for the community, especially for our young people (it is more than twice as large as the old St. Lawrence Hall). It will house concerts both classical and popular, forums, demonstrations, lectures, mixed media presentations, films and a wide variety of other activities—all keyed in with community organizations all the way from the Canadian Institute for International Affairs to our school system.

Finally, I would submit to you that the benefits I have listed above create a figure on the profit side of the ledger which is not to be measured by the box-office take of any theatre or concert hall. Aside from Broadway, which is more like a horse-race than any other kind of human activity, there is no nation or province or city on the face of the globe that expects the drama, opera, ballet or the symphony orchestra to pay for itself. They can no more be expected to do so than parks, or public swimming pools or skating rinks or zoos or schools and universities, or any other necessary amenities of a decent life. This is so in America or in Europe or Asia, regardless of the political system. In most cities the purchase of tickets makes up only between on third and one half of the revenue. The rest must come from public funds.

I am often asked why we should subsidize our artists, the suggestion being that artists think society owes them a living. Actually the reverse is the situation at the moment: our artists are subsidizing their society. A dancer in the Corps de Ballet of our National Ballet Company makes from $54–$71 a week—or a good deal less than most of you pay your secretary; and this is after a rigorous training over many years. All but a handful of the members in our Toronto Symphony Orchestra get paid $125 per week for 32 weeks of the year, or $4,000 per year; and it takes more time and money to train an instrumentalist than a doctor or a lawyer. Recently Les Feux-Follets, the national folk-dance troupe which has carried the name of Canada all over the world, was forced to suspend operations when the performers' union asked for a raise in the minimum salary from $75 to $90 per week. This is how we reward those who uphold what claim we have to civilization—and we should be ashamed of ourselves.

What those public funds are buying is our own future and the future of our children and their children. What those funds are buying is "The attainment that in the end gives a society its hope for a lasting place in history, and its people the chance for the fullest freedom and happiness."

I am sorry if these ideas sound shocking to you, but it is already a quarter of a century since Sir Herbert Read, that remarkable British prophet, said:

> *"Art is always the index of social vitality, the moving finger that records the destiny of a civilization. A wise statesman should keep an anxious eye on this graph, for it is more significant than a decline in exports or a fall in the value of the nation's currency."*

(6) New Program Emphases

The 1960's do not constitute a decade devoted to "more of the same." There were many new emphases and original programs. Here presented are a few samples, as illustrations, for those ready to retire, education through service, continuing education of professional people.

Programs for People Getting Ready to Retire

S. R. LAYCOCK (1962)

The problems of older people are very much in the public eye today for two chief reasons. First of all, larger numbers of persons than ever before reach the age of 65. In Canada there are over one and a quarter million of our citizens who are over 65 years of age. Of these more than 800,000 are over the age of seventy. And the end is not yet. Medical men assure us that an increasing number of people will live to be one hundred years old.

The second reason for older people being a problem has to do with our change from a rural to an urban type of life and from employment on farms and in small businesses to being employed by large industrial corporations or by governments. These facts have resulted in the somewhat impersonal and lonely life of the big city and to the practice of having a fixed retirement age, usually at 65 years.

All this means that there are more retired people in Canada and we have not yet been able to solve the problem of meeting their needs in a satisfactory fashion.

Society has to devise and put into practice ways of meeting the needs of *all* age groups—pre-school children, school-age youngsters, teenagers and adults. For example, to meet the needs of pre-school children society has provided maternity services, well-baby clinics, children's hospitals, immunization services, nursery schools, kindergartens, and child guidance clinics as well as special services for children who are physically or mentally retarded. Similarly, school-age children have to be provided with schools and health, welfare, and recreational services. With adults there are the problems of employment and unemployment, as well as provision of health, welfare, and recreational services. What is new in the problems of older people is the great increase in the number who reach retirement age and the fact that our old methods of meeting the needs of this group are not adequate.

What Are the Problems of Retirement?

We are not doing a good job in solving the problems of the retired because we have focused attention on meeting their physical needs and have neglected meeting their emotional or psychological needs. Certainly the problems of providing old-age pensions, retirement pensions, low-cost housing, and health services for the chronically ill, are very important and I do not disparage them. My point is that these are not enough. After providing food, clothing, shelter, and health services for older people, we still have the problem of meeting their emotional needs if they are to be happy or even healthy. Medical men who deal with the aged are convinced that much physical deterioration is the result of psychological deterioration because of the frustration of the basic emotional needs of the individual.

The fact is that when men and women reach the age of 65 they do not suddenly become vegetables needing only food and drink, clothing, and a roof over their heads. They are still human beings with all a human being's needs. To be mentally healthy, individuals from pre-schoolers, elementary and high school boys and girls, young and middle-aged adults to the aged must find reasonable satisfaction for their basic psychological needs. To me the most important of these are six in number.

Basic Emotional Needs

(1) All human beings need to matter to others and to love and be loved. For example, if psychology has learned anything about child development it is the necessity for an infant's mental (and physical) health that he receive tender loving care from his parents and that school-age children and adolescents feel secure in the love of their parents and the regard of their teacher and classmates. Adults find satisfaction for this need in family life, in friendships and in their many associations in business and community life. Older people have this need too. The most serious problem of older people is loneliness and failure to continue to matter to others. Their life partner, brothers and sisters and old friends

may have passed on and their families have grown up and have interests and families of their own.

(2) All human beings have the need to *belong* to groups—that is to be a desired and desirable member of a group—family group, work group, play group and community-service group. Older people's family life is often disrupted or non-existent. They no longer have a place in the work group and are often isolated from regular adult social, recreational, and service groups. Many are isolated into a sort of ghetto of old age where they are compelled to rely almost entirely on groups of their own age. These may be important but are not enough.

(3) The need for independence—that is reasonably to manage one's own life is a human need at all ages. It is seen in the three year olds plaintive plea—"me do", and in the adolescent's determined effort to win emancipation from parental control. Many old people lose their independence, even though they have plenty of money. Their families make them give up their own home and live with married sons or daughters. Here they may be prisoners of either kindness or indifference or convenience. It is the privilege of all adults to do foolish things. They go out when they have a cold; they stay up too late; they eat too much; smoke too much, or drink too much. Older people often have this privilege taken away from them. Someone else orders their life from day to day.

(4) The need for the esteem of others, for recognition and approval, is a basic human need. In our society this is largely denied to older people. First of all, we do not reverence age as was the case in older societies: rather we worship youth. Then, too, we tend to link a man's importance with his job. This is a very real problem. A man may be president of a company, or a university or be premier of a province and the day after he retires he is apt to be plain Mr. Smith whom everybody passes by unnoticed. Even though retired persons have adequate income and families and friends, the loss of a sense of usefulness and importance is a severe blow. There is no use telling the aged that they have done their share of the world's work and should now rest. They want still to be useful and important. Kindly and sentimental condescension on the part of younger people does not supply this. The retired do not want to be considered either "old fogies" or "old dears".

(5) The need for achievement—that is to taste the joys of success so vital for all ages from childhood to old age. In some way this must be provided for older people.

(6) The need for self-esteem or a sense of personal worth is very important for the mental health of any individual at any age. If a human being does not feel reasonably comfortable about himself he is headed for trouble. Since how an individual feels about himself is powerfully affected by what others about him think of him, the old person is apt to be in difficulty. He is only too well aware that the public thinks of older people as useless, unimportant, difficult, confused and boring.

These then are the needs for which older people must find reasonable satisfaction if they are to preserve their mental health and, to a degree, their physical health.

What Can Be Done to Satisfy the Needs of Older People?

If older people are to find satisfaction for their emotional needs we need a definite program of education. This education is of three kinds: (1) the education of the public about aging, that is, an understanding of the emotional needs of older people and the ways in which these may be met; (2) education of the individuals who are some day to grow old. This is a life-long job beginning in the elementary school and continuing in adult education in work skills, general education and specific education for retirement; (3) education of retired people themselves—both general education and education about their own health and adjustment problems.

Work is Important

Work is one of the great blessings of human life. Through it men and women find a sense of achievement, of recognition, of personal worth, of independence and of relationships with others.

Society must find ways of giving larger numbers of older people a continuing share in the world's work. First of all, the age of retirement should be made more flexible. In a study reported by The National Committee on Aging in 1959 in New York, personnel directors of a large number of companies with a fixed retirement age reported that two-thirds to three-quarters of all who retired could have continued to work. Certainly there is abundant evidence that a chronological age of 60, 65 or 70 tells us little about an individual as such. People of the same birthday age differ tremendously in every physical and mental trait. This is as true of the eight-year-old, the fourteen-year-old, and the forty-year-old as it is of the seventy-year-old. Certainly there are many older people who are highly productive after 65 years of age. Eleanor Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Chancellor Adenauer are individual examples of hosts of older people who have made outstanding contributions not only in public service but in creative writing and in composing music as well. And the same principle applies to the ordinary man. During the war industry was glad to use older workers and found them to be competent and reliable as well as having less absenteeism and accidents than younger workers.

Aside from continuing in one's regular job if competent to do so, there should be more "stepping down" of jobs. If a man has been president of a company he should not consider it beneath his dignity to become a vice-president or a consultant. If he has been a foreman with a responsible and exacting job he should be willing, if necessary for his health and competence, to return to the ranks of the ordinary workman. "Saving face," you know, is not confined to the oriental nations. However, sometimes it is wise that older people be retrained for new jobs or for home industries and provision should be made for this. Part-time jobs also are important.

I would like to stress, too, that, while there are many voluntary jobs to be done in the community and older people should do their share of them, pay for work done is a form of social recognition. Aside from the money received, an individual gains self-respect from a sense that his services are still of value.

Recreation is Important

Human beings of all ages can find a sense of achievement, recognition, independence, belonging and a sense of worth through recreation. Whether they do so or not depends first of all on whether the recreation is creative and active rather than passive. Watching television or even watching hockey games should not be enough. While reading is important, it may be too much an individual and non-productive activity. Hobbies and crafts, playing a musical instrument, or active recreation like bowling or golf are important. So is encouraging older people to plan and carry out their own recreation instead of just being entertained while sitting in a rocking chair. Second, whether recreation is satisfying or not depends on whether it fulfills a keen interest or is just putting in time. "Killing time" is the most futile and boring job in the world for individuals of any age. Facilities for recreation for older people are important but they should lead to creative recreation and either cater to established interests or be successful in developing new ones.

Community Service Brings Satisfaction

Ways must be found to give older people a full share in community service. I mean service through health, welfare, cultural and church activities. Every old person, who hasn't become completely senile, has skills and experience which could add greatly to the welfare of the community. These may be anything from knitting or making other articles for bazaars, assisting in children's homes, assisting with the mentally retarded and the physically handicapped, to teaching crafts to Boy Scouts or Girl Guides, or running a mimeograph machine and mailing notices in the Mental Health Association office. They may include visiting the sick in both general hospitals and mental hospitals and serving on health, welfare, and church boards. Long ago I suggested that every church have a committee whose duty it would be to ferret out and list the skills of the older people of the congregation and then match these with church and community need for services. More recently, the Association Press, New York, has published an excellent book of suggestions along this line—it is called *New Church Programs With the Aging* and is by Elsie T. Culver.

Relationships Are Vital

One of my chief complaints is that society segregates its older people in much the same way as the Southern United States segregates its colored citizens. Older people are often confined to their own age group for friendships and for recreational and social activities as well as for community service. I do not underestimate the value of Golden Age Clubs and Friendship Clubs. They do a fine work and doubtless many older people enjoy them. I suspect, however, that, in many cases, older people have no option as they have little opportunity to share recreational and social life as well as service to health, welfare, and church organizations, with younger adults. Aside from participation in social, recreational and service organizations with adults of all ages, it would help most older people, and younger ones too, if the retired people could still have friendships with people of all ages.

Education for Aging

Aging is a process that starts at birth. Successful retirement depends on all the years that precede it. Each individual carries into retirement with him the strengths and weaknesses he has inherited and developed. Retirement is like marriage, it doesn't solve problems: rather it highlights those already existing.

To me the most important preparation for aging is for an individual to have the kind of experiences in his early life in home and school that will develop in him feelings of security and adequacy and an ability to rely on his own inner resources.

When it comes to the role of education in preparing the individual for retirement the elementary and secondary school play a very important part. If they can graduate their pupils with an eagerness to continue learning that will be a major contribution. In our world of rapid change and the explosion of knowledge no one can finish his education at any point of his career. Any individual who quits learning these days will be a back number within five years or less. "Old fogies" can be found at any age. I mean people who have quit learning, and thinking, and are content to stay in a rut. If people at retirement are behind the times and their skill and knowledge outdated they are bound to be shelved in one way or another. Good preparation for retirement, therefore, involves "continuing education" as adult education is now called. This should be along two lines: (a) general education in public affairs, through reading, evening classes and discussion groups, and (b) continual up-dating of skills and knowledge in the individual's own field.

Aside from knowledge and skills, adults need to keep their mental wheels well-oiled if they are to function properly. Any human capacity which is not exercised is likely to atrophy. Any mental process, kept alive by exercise, can usually function to quite an advanced age. Keeping mentally alert by both general and specific study and thinking is a must for all adults in the world of the future.

Another important aspect of education in adult life is that of specific studying of the problems of retirement during the individual's middle years. An increasing number of industrial firms, labor unions and universities in the U.S.A. have developed pre-retirement courses. The University of Michigan has a special department of gerontology and two of its distinguished professors—Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue—have developed extensive study materials on the problems of aging for use by men and women in middle age. A six-dollar book edited by these authors which is entitled *Aging in Today's Society* (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960), is largely a book of readings which deal with such questions as: When does old age begin? How old is old? Can I find a second career? Why do I fear the future? What causes retirement letdown? How can I utilize so much extra leisure? It also raises a host of questions for those in the middle years as to how they can make the most of these years. The University of Michigan Press also publishes a Handbook for Group Members which was prepared for a study-discussion course, "Aging in the Modern World."

These discussion groups for men and women in the middle years would enable them to make the most of these years and prepare for retirement as well as to understand and help their own aged parents.

Education for the Retired

The last form of education I wish to discuss is education for people who have already reached retirement age. This has three aspects. First, if individuals are to continue working part-time at their old jobs or are tackling new ones they need to continue to study and learn if they are to keep their skills and knowledge up to date. Second, old people should enroll in discussion groups where the problems of aging are faced frankly and where they may receive help in solving their financial, health, welfare, recreational and other problems. Third, old people, until the downright onset of senility, should continue to be a part of formal or informal courses in various branches of knowledge. These may be anything from space exploration, the problems of a nuclear age and various branches of science, to a discussion of world politics, anthropology, family life, psychology and economics or they may be courses in the appreciation of literature, art or music or in creative work in these fields. For those who want to learn practical skills there should be available courses in hobbies and crafts, cooking or sewing, and indeed in almost any activity of human life in which individuals have an interest and which present possibilities for growth and development.

This education for older people is not visionary. There was a White House Conference on Aging in 1961. Its *Background Paper on Education for Aging* and its Report on Recommendations from the Conference entitled, "Education for Aging" contain some startling information. In 1957 there were half a million persons over 65 enrolled in formal adult education classes organized by universities, school boards, extension departments of universities and other agencies. This means that one out of 30 persons over 65 years of age participated in formal adult education classes in the U.S.A., in 1957. In addition, untold thousands participated in informal educational activities organized by churches, welfare institutions, Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, etc. In 1957, too, over 100,000 persons in the U.S.A. who were over 60 years of age were participating in vocationally related educational courses. I have not the figures for Canada but school boards, extension and other departments of universities carry on a significant program of formal education in which older citizens participate. Then, too, churches, health agencies, welfare organizations, and religious organizations are increasingly providing informal study groups for adults and these include and should include many past retirement age. Golden Age Clubs also have study groups on various topics.

Since medical science has added years to our lives, we ourselves and society must add life to our years. This can be done only through a well-planned and co-ordinated program of education *about aging*, education *for aging*, and education *for the aged themselves*. Mankind is ingenious in solving many of its problems. It can do better than it does in solving the problems of its older members.

CUSO A Program of Education Through Service

T. M. GLAVIN (1969)

From around the world enthusiastic reports of challenge and response are being sent by 130 young Canadian volunteers about their two-year assignments in developing countries under the auspices of the Canadian University Service Overseas.

Recently in the lecture halls in the University of Toronto, four full time teachers, experienced in similar tasks, confronted 79 teacher volunteers who are part of the CUSO '64 task force. At the Université de Montréal, 28 French-speaking volunteers steeled themselves for the roughest test of their lives. In September, this training continued at Trinity College for the 32 volunteers destined for the West Indies and the 3 for South America, at the University of British Columbia for the 28 volunteers bound for Asia, and at McGill University for the 64 headed for Africa.

As we scan the classrooms we ask ourselves what these young people (the average age is 23.5, the youngest 19 and the oldest 38) have in common. Certainly not their qualifications, which run the professional service gamut of teachers (69 per cent), agriculturalists, nurses, home economists, engineers, lab technicians, doctors, physiotherapists, university lecturers, lawyers, foresters and geologists. However, out of over 300 applicants, this group has survived the screening process of their nearest university and a National Selection Committee in Ottawa. CUSO has submitted their qualifications to one of the requesting countries and their assignments have been confirmed and defined. CUSO has undertaken to train them and transport them to their assignments and back, for this year the Canadian Government has increased its support to a monetary one in the form of free RCAF transport overseas. They understand that the host country government or private agency will provide local salary, or room and board and pin money. This pocket money is sometimes subsidized by CUSO in a few cases where the agencies lack funds.

But these are merely terms and qualifications, not people. What is the common attitude of mind that has prompted them to abandon the "vast gray sleep" of Baldwin's air-conditioned middle class North America for the hazards of an alien country? "Peanuts per hour," "Bring your qualifications, go anywhere, do anything," are hardly the usual incentives.

We look behind the qualifications and see young Canadians infected with a virus. Like many throughout the world they have said to themselves, "It is time to go out and do something meaningful." They want to give and take in a new and fascinating culture, to teach, but especially to learn.

This infectious germ not only claims young people. It is a virus that has afflicted Canadians of every station in life. It prompts office secretaries to work until midnight on their holidays so that volunteers can get the latest information on education in Nigeria. It causes an Executive Secretary to forego his holidays so that one of his charges gets the best possible assignment. It motivates a Canadian of the External Affairs Department in India to open his house to volunteers who have been afflicted with what they jokingly call "Delhi belly." It causes book publishers to donate thousands of books to the volunteers. It inspires university professors to spend countless hours of their time in order to select and train the best possible volunteers. It causes busy executives to organize a National Campaign for an annual goal of $200,000, and a young schoolboy to donate $10.00 of his savings to the cause.

These are Canadians with ideals, not half-baked idealists out to save the world, Canadians with zeal not zealots. Canadians with a mission, but not missionaries belaboured with the albatross of "the white man's burden," Canadians with a spirit of adventure, but not adventurous soldiers of fortune. "No trouble me with dem, man," is the West Indian reaction to volunteers equipped with a rubber mould for producing North American prototypes.

During orientation, a distressing awareness dawns on the volunteers that all the lectures and all the sociological tags of matriarchal and patriarchal society will not make them first-rate volunteers. The real test is in the field. There, besides practising what the Canadian trade journals called "professional survival," they may be temporarily immobilized by food that sears its way to heartburn. They will be frustrated by seeming indifference or misunderstanding. Some will be disillusioned by the suggestion that time is not a long thin ribbon punctuated by schedules, which must be filled with purposeful activity, but merely a pinpoint in the vast universe, lighted by the sun for contemplation of the navel and the real meaning of life. Under the silent scrutiny of people practised in the art of spotting a "phony," they will be forced to walk the tight-rope between the pitfalls of completely "going native" and being useless or "bushed" on the one hand, and aloof foreigners on the other hand. They are justifiably nervous about defending the racial problem in the United States or explaining Canada's foreign aid program. "What do I say about the immigration policies of Canada?" Nervously, they anticipate themselves as defenders of the North American morals proliferated in Hollywood gloss. Or perhaps they are troubled as to their role of constant speech-maker at local fêtes so that all can hear whether Canadians speak any differently from Americans.

Gradually any glamour in the assignment has been supplanted by the disturbing reality that this training is only helpful at best. The fact is faced that the real prerequisites for a first-rate CUSO volunteer are a flexible nature, a genuine interest in people's welfare, and plenty of determination.

This training, they realize, is quite specialized, yet CUSO does not send over specialists in any narrow sense of the word. The teacher of English in the West Indies might be called upon to repair a vintage tractor that has rested and rusted since its collapse five years ago. He might be asked to write his organization's annual report, or lead singsongs with lyrics he learned only months before, or perhaps he will drive the school bus when the driver has dipped too deeply into the local suds. While digging a ditch for a new basketball court, for instance, he will soon learn that even the tool is lacking when he says, "Joshua, please bring me the shovel." The work really begins when he says, "Come na man, fetch de shovel." He is only a success when Joshua appears in the ditch with his own shovel and starts rubbing elbows.

Qualified Canadians yes, but especially adaptable. The nurse in India could be called upon to catalogue the local school library or work three days and nights aiding undernourished refugee children fleeing from Tibet. Perhaps she will have to dispel a village myth that sudden death will strike if she washes her hair before going to bed and not at high noon, merely by surviving for two years. Yes, the CUSO parcel goes overseas with a tag to the Headmaster or the Community Organizer saying "Use however, and whenever possible." An additional note from the Executive Secretary to the volunteer says, "Do not forget Canada is behind you, thousands of miles behind you."

At the end of two years these volunteers will return to Canada, largely unheralded. Some will return to further training at University, and some to continue their jobs, this time in urban or rural Canada, or, hopefully, in our North Land. All will return with a greater depth of vision, with an enlarged social conscience and widened self-knowledge. In their own way all will help to bulldoze the walls of our often-criticized Canadian parochialism.

Programs of Continuing Education for the Professional

J. A. B. MCLEISH (1968)

In professional sports and in the arts the connotation of the professional is some one highly accomplished in skill—accomplished enough to make a living at it. There is a study by Professor E. H. Sutherland called *The Professional Thief* in which occurs the following wonderful passage from a letter written to Sutherland by a confidence man who regarded himself as "big-time", and who writes as follows concerning a shoplifter: "While he is undoubtedly a professional thief, I should a few years ago before I was committed to prison have been ashamed to be seen on the street with him. I say this not out of a spirit of snobbishness but simply because for business reasons I feel that my reputation would have suffered in the eyes of my friends to be seen in the company of a booster."

Innovations in Continuing Education

Innovation and experimentation in continuing professional education, in a sense other than the initiating of programs already stereotyped as standard, have been recent arrivals on the Canadian scene. The tired bromide that Canada is a young country still has some validity in this case. Although professional education, either as a university or proprietary project, is more than a century old in a number of professions, the emphasis has long been on establishment rather than experiment. In a country of vast size, meagre population, a dominantly rural nature, and with serious communication problems, great energy has been used simply to get the professional schools into operation. The earliest activity in continuing education began, typically, in the professional societies, with the medical doctors taking the lead. "One of the purposes in the minds of the founders 90 years ago," says a policy statement of the largest and most prestigious of the provincial medical societies, that of Ontario, "was to provide an educational forum for the doctors of this province." The same purpose has been a major objective of other professional societies in Canada over the years.

The professional person in modern Canada is confronted with a number of obstacles to developing a life style that includes intelligently planned continued learning as a matter of course. One reason for this, curiously enough, arises from the reason that continuous learning is essential for the professional, especially in our time—the so-called knowledge explosion. The immensity of the task of merely keeping up with, to say nothing of keeping ahead of, the avalanche of new data in such scientific professions as medicine, dentistry, engineering, and architecture, and of keeping up with both the new data and the new controversial social issues in other professions, such as social work, teaching, and theology, may induce the field professional to take refuge in learning only the superficially operational material that results in an increased income or that salvages him from the grosser errors of his daily professional life. Unless he is a very recent graduate, and in many cases even then, he may be the product of an undergraduate curriculum seemingly constructed on the assumption that a degree course lasting four or five years will equip a man for forty years of activity in a rapidly changing field. With a number of notable exceptions, Canadian professional schools remain devoted to the formalized lecture and the rigidly structured laboratory as the major curriculum method. A progressive dean, at a recent conference on continuing professional education in Toronto, complained that even the graduation ceremonies of young professionals are so ritualized that it would appear that the really important part of learning has concluded before the graduate enters the field. Conspicuously lacking in Canadian professional education are strategies in the professional schools for the young graduate to equip himself for the continuous demands of the field for growth and renewal.

Some Experiments

In a number of professional fields in Canada, promising experiments are underway, and citing a few of them will illustrate the quickening pulse of change. One profession providing leadership in helping practitioners to meet the problems of distance, loss of time, and lack of funds is the accounting profession. Through their Canadian Institute, accountants are encouraging in-residence courses of several weeks' duration, home study, and seminar courses of one to five days in length. These procedures are not new but, in addition, the accountants are developing the systematic "travel subsidy" as a device to remove the typical Canadian excuse that the professional renewal project is too far away and too expensive to attend. The accounting profession is also using the lengthy in-residence type of program to explore concepts in more depth and to experiment with strategies of teaching.

At least three of Canada's major religious communions are also substantially committing themselves to extended in-residence renewal programs for field clergy, and of these national churches, the Anglican communion is developing particularly interesting techniques to help make continuing education part of the normal ongoing career experience of priests and other full-time church workers. If the diocesan bishop and synod agree, the following financial arrangement is worked out: the diocese contributes, annually, a stated amount to each clergyman's personal fund for continuing education, just as it does for his pension fund. The priest himself contributes a stated amount from his regular stipend for this purpose and, at the end of a period of five years, the clergyman will have accumulated several hundred dollars. He may then take a study leave of at least one month (a leave especially needed by the modern church professionals and hitherto extremely difficult), and he may do so with full pay during his absence under the diocesan scheme. Since the arrangement is a group one, the individual clergyman cannot otherwise "buy into" the scheme. Its special and highly innovative feature is that it lays the obligation for continuing education upon all clergy and other professional full-time workers in a diocese, just as pension schemes are accepted as essential and compulsory under group professional auspices.

Another major experiment in attempting to carry the process of renewal directly to the field professional is provided by Canadian medical education. This area, if it has not yet been highly innovative in styles of continuing learning, has shown its concern in the fact that no fewer than six medical faculties have established their own departments of extension. This specific experiment, which attempts in a quite different way to make resources available to the practitioner without bringing him all the way to the campus or even to a local center, is the University of Saskatchewan program in dial access and information retrieval. It was initiated in Saskatoon, and it operates from both that city and the provincial capital, Regina. This program is an adaptation of a system introduced in Wisconsin about five years ago and makes available over 350 tape-recorded messages, bearing advice on the latest data in diagnosing and treating a wide variety of diseases. All Saskatchewan physicians have been provided with a booklet listing, classifying, and clearly indexing the tapes. To hear a tape, physicians need only to dial a number and ask for the tape number of their choice. The number of daily calls varies from ten to sixty.

The focal center of the entire Saskatchewan program is, after all, problem solving—problems arising from the crucible of field practice—and solutions are generated most of the time from new developments in medical theory. Thus, in its deeper sense, the Saskatchewan plan, as it has been arranged, fits in well with the needed new problem-solving strategies of continuing professional education.

Not only recent commissions in the health sciences and theological education but also university review committees and individual critics continue to attribute the notable failure of professionals in all fields to participate in ongoing projects after graduation to the neglect by professional faculties of the problem-solving approach. For example, a recent report from the University of Western Ontario indicates its concern about the apparent lack of interest in continuing self-learning on the part of practicing physicians. It notes that only about 10 percent of over two thousand medical doctors who are practicing in southwestern Ontario take part regularly in locally presented continuing education programs in medicine, and that fewer than 25 percent of them are more than casual viewers of television programs, presumably one of the most congenial of the learning devices. Other comments from this report are rather more encouraging: younger doctors make greater use of refresher courses than older ones, and the established physicians, over thirty-five years of age, tend to be more consistent watchers of educational television programs. However, the picture is generally a dolorous one, and the committee writing the report makes a series of vigorous criticisms of the curricula and methodologies of most Canadian medical schools. The report suggests three major changes in medical school teaching that might radically transform the attitude of practicing physicians to continuing learning. The undergraduate medical curriculum should include an adequate explanation of the learning process; it should lay great emphasis on the principles and practices of problem solving; and the techniques of instruction used in medical school should be organized so as to more closely resemble the instructional and learning methods that are found to be useful and effective by practicing physicians.

New strategies in teaching and learning in the professional schools and close intercommunication between undergraduate and field areas should contribute more and more to the development of the practitioner who takes continuous learning throughout his professional life to be indispensable. Central, however, in current writing and research remains the problem of personal motivation, and this has its stimuli in sources other than curricula and teaching methodology. In the recent report of the Commission on the Healing Arts in Ontario, the commissioners note the perils of obsolescence in the health sciences, and take the position that medical, dental, nursing, and other diplomas in this field should be renewed by some form of assessment every five years. The argument for the limited diploma in many professional fields is finding increasing support throughout the professions. A motivational device that is more attractive from the standpoint of the integrity of the individual professional person is one that found a favorable reaction at the November Conference on Continuing Education in Toronto. As in a California medical education experiment, field specialists in several professions might take periodic examinations, testing their grasp of new data and techniques, the result of the tests being made available only to the practitioner himself. This approach would provide, along with a powerful motivating stimulus for further learning, an interesting test of professional ethics. One inhibition to the motivated professional may well be his feeling that if he really wishes to pursue extensive continuous learning at Canadian universities, and have some form of recognition for it, he must enroll in formal graduate studies. Yet the graduate studies programs are rarely oriented to the needs of the field professionals. An interesting new development in engineering at the University of Saskatchewan (Regina) is a "postgressional" certificate in further engineering studies, which makes available to the professional field-oriented learning without the obligation to take on the more research-oriented traditional graduate programs.

The True Professional

The sociological conceptions of the professions throw a great deal of illumination on the arena of professional claims; yet few of us, I think, would be completely satisfied that a man or woman is a professional person solely on the basis of membership in one of the establishment professions. Perhaps what I am introducing here is the concept of the "true professional"—that is, the person who fulfils more than the legal stipulations of the professions—who, for example, is more than legally ethical: he is truly professional.

Furthermore, the "true professional" is not somebody living on a linear time-line, so that in retrospect he looks less professional because he practised in a less technically sophisticated society—on this reasoning, what are you going to do with Sir William Osler? or with any of dozens of remarkable practitioners we all have springing to our minds from memories of childhood?

The professional in our time might perhaps be most imaginatively looked at from the standpoint of the young graduates of two weeks ago who thirty years from now, in the year 2001, will be only in their full prime, with many years of production left.

One major challenge derives from the fact that Canada has become highly urbanised, highly industrialised, and that the process of urbanisation of ideas is being completed by networks of the media which bring the potential of change into the most pastoral areas in the country. The effect upon many professionals in our time—whether in their prime or just beginning their careers—is to present them with arenas of work where the terrain and ground rules are in confusion. A striking example is the teaching profession in our schools: what do we now mean by the "classroom", and the techniques that it implies? Another is the religious parish: the priest or minister who hopes to survive and help his church survive with him is apparently going to have to become a "facilitator" rather than the "generalist" trying to be six professionals in one. Still another is the engineer and the architect: it's increasingly impossible to put up developments, even so-called great private developments, to say nothing of speedways, without adding to your arena the whole surging world of public reaction and ecological opinion.

The same turbulent currents of change have produced the challenge to the individual practitioner in several professions to learn the functions and the art of group practice and community teamwork. In addition, both individual and group practitioners in order to cope with the complexity and sophistication of work and pressure of people are having to learn how to employ skilfully aides and technical assistants, and are clearly going to have to do so more and more. The first challenge is faced by the physician, and the second one—the important problem of how to maximise the use of the allied professional is a specific demand upon the physician, the social worker, the nurse, and the teacher. Not the least part of this process is the full professional's learning how to abdicate outmoded functions and to take on certain higher roles and functions. This will mean the abandoning of some very comfortable routines and postures.

In Harvey Cushing's life of Osler, there is an engaging episode as I remember it in which a young, presumably tough and competent hospital physician says in Osler's presence as a patient is wheeled by, "Isn't that the gall-bladder case in Room 208?" to which Osler heatedly says at once, "I would have you know that that is not the gall-bladder case in Room 208; that is Mrs. So-and-so, a very dear and fine lady." What is perhaps special about our time and future is that the professional may find that this kind of attitude is more and more globally demanded of him and that he will need to develop himself in consequence.

Still another challenge presents itself in the continued extension of government intervention in the domains of activities of the great professions, especially the health sciences. New conditions are obviously created for the individual health professional by medicare and by allied social programs. What is less obvious is the tendency of the state to exercise its powers increasingly to institute lay colleagueship in professional administration.

I have time to mention one other major challenge to the professional in our time, "our time" which will extend itself on to the year 2001 and beyond. This is what is often called the "knowledge explosion"—the unremitting delivery to the professional and the professional practitioner of masses of new knowledge, which it is difficult enough to evaluate let alone to assimilate. It might in fact be better called a "knowledge *im*plosion", for its effects upon the conscientious professional.

Finally, if the professional in our time needs aid and sustenance in meeting the challenges of society, it is also true that society needs, and will more and more greatly need, the contributions of the true professional: his great skill, his cool and diagnostic mind which is not bamboozled or intimidated by propaganda, his respect for confidentiality, his obligation to serve, his sensitivity to people's human qualities, his interprofessional comradeship, and his conviction that life is a process to the last day on earth of the continuing renewal of mind and spirit.

(7) A Program of Learning Through Travel

LEONARD MARSH (1965)

The chief character in one of John Marquand's novels "travelled

all round the world but never left Boston." A traveller can be virtually untouched by experience or it may merely confirm or deepen his prejudices.

However, programs of travel designed to educate, have increased in numbers and quality. Here are some impressions derived from the report of a group of British Columbians who took part in a travel seminar in Quebec in 1965.

I Expectations

It was something more than intuition that led the "resident sociologist" of the Tour to put as the first items on the after-the-tour questionnaire to be filled out by the participants, the following:

1. Which would you say are the most unexpected things you found from the Tour? (Answer none if this is the correct answer for you, but please do not leave blank!)
2. Is there any matter on which the Tour (including visual impressions, and discussions) has led you to *change your views*? (Please do not answer just Yes or No! And amplify your answer on the back if you need more space. If you haven't changed your views about anything, don't hesitate to say so.)

The questionnaire had to be drafted while the Tour was still young, (so that it could be mimeographed in time for our return to Montreal, after a big swing around Quebec). But we had already had one discussion—a free swinging one, with one very articulate separatist at the Université de Montréal—we had spent a most informative morning at the National Film Board, and we had seen several aspects of the "urban renewal revolution" that is giving an electric atmosphere to Montreal. It was already clear that the Tour was going to make us sit up and take notice—perhaps more than some of us had anticipated from the lectures and our preliminary reading.

Intuition or reasonable anticipation, there is no doubt about the response. Nobody "left it blank". With only a single exception everybody came up with *two* or *three*, and some with *four*, "unexpected things". It's hard to know what order to put them in. Perhaps first, the warmth of the welcome—it was expressed in so many ways. The "honesty and hospitality"; the "friendliness of the contacts"; "our reception at all levels"; "the outgoing and vivacious expressions of so many people, and their acceptance of us"; "their goodwill, even when we didn't agree"; and "unexpected special gestures, as for instance *two* different city councils who put on receptions for us, on *Sunday*". Next, the strong feeling that there *is* a renaissance, however difficult it may be to pinpoint it. The "surge of modernization in industry, architecture, and education", one called it: the new and striking universities were picked by several, including "the scope and quality of the buildings", "the vision exemplified within new educational blueprints" and "the new opportunities for students". The rapidity and vast extent of reconstruction in Montreal, not all of it geared to Expo '67, astonished several, both those who knew Montreal, and those who had never been there before.

Related to education, but also to deep roots in French-Canadian culture, as we were all aware, is the Church. The "most unexpected thing" to several was "the realism and acceptance of the changes by some of the clergy", the "liberal views" expressed by some of them, the "strong opinions in favour of lay education" (including student opposition to confessional schools). Perhaps one should record here another answer: "the stability and commonsense of what seems like a majority of the people". These "things" could be related.

On the level of social change, the most unexpected discoveries were the BAEQ version of ARDA (rural redevelopment and community organization) in the Gaspé area, the new importance of the Caisses Populaires, and their centre for adult education work in the Institut Desjardins. As some recorded it, "I didn't know the credit unions were so important"; another that they were so strongly parish-based, as compared with the British Columbia versions. That some "applied social science" was in operation was the eye-opener for at least two of the group; that this was a channel to the poorer members of the community impressed another.

What else in this effervescent list? Two particularly perceptive items. One—"the new sense of history I felt while in Quebec". The other—the practical and sensitive development in bilingualism exemplified in the Film Board and at Arvida (the rule is that, French or English, each has the right to explain his ideas or write his memos in his mother-tongue: at least reading-bilingualism is expected of all at administrative levels).

Are these too optimistic? Were the participants on this Tour too easily persuaded? Some of the unexpected things were critical or negative: set these in the balance, and judge whether there were not some keen insights! The most striking impression of one of the group, who had not been to Quebec before, was the "pervasiveness of Catholicism, its institutions and symbols, and the extent to which it is woven into the life of the people". For another it was the extent to which French Canadians spoke English, and the pleasure that so many felt in "practicing English on us"! On *séparatisme* (which we became accustomed to hearing pronounced something like "parachute"), several shocks of expectation. "That there is so much disunity among the separatists." "That the separatists include some highly-educated and professional people." But also that "out-and-out separatism is far from universal." Another unexpected thing was "the bewilderment widely expressed that separatism should be so played up in the rest of Canada when it's only a small minority here". On the other hand, the most astonishing thing to one observer was "the complete indifference of the avowed separatist to the rest of Canada, including even French-Canadian minorities outside of Quebec". And among other penetrating comments: "that there is such a marked difference between Montreal and the rest of Quebec"; "that there is such a wide gap between the poorer and the professional people"; and "that such a small percentage have much knowledge about the rest of Canada"!

It would not be proper to close this recital without recording that many put in their list a tribute to the Tour itself: "remarkable that every moment was so well planned", and "the scope and detail of the itinerary". And the fourth item of one respondent was "the mature good fellowship of our own group". Could this be due to Quebec, the renaissance, adult education—or just us?

II Anybody Change Their Views?

"Definitely!" said more than one questionnaire. The feeling, whether of nationalism or plain dissatisfaction, is much stronger than most of us thought. "I didn't really believe some people think they would be better off out of Canada." One now thinks that bilingualism is less important; another that it is more (as compared with economic and political changes); but almost all are impressed with the motivation of the new sense of "nationalism", or "destiny", or "forward thinking". Some put their views as being more "sympathetic", either to French-Canadian culture or to the case for greater self-realization. "I realize now how much the French-Canadian culture is worth having." "I am now convinced that Quebec has a strong case for constitutional revision" and that "all of us have to give new thought to the spirit of Confederation".

The many thoughtful expressions on this point warm the heart of an adult educator, and one can only do them justice by quoting at length. "Premier Lesage's statement that Quebec has 'gradually pushed the rest of Canada into some serious thinking about the role we can and must play' expresses to me the essence of what I've learned.... If what is happening to Quebec now is understood outside the province, it would be to our mutual advantage.... If my visit to Quebec has taught me anything, it is that the sense of belonging in Quebec is a strength not found to anything like the same degree in the West." "I went to Quebec a trifle resentful of the reported French-Canadian attitudes to 'English Canada'. I believe that, palatable or not, these attitudes must be accepted and understood, and means sought to resolve the prejudices on both sides. This may entail some revaluation of the Canadian heritage, and some pride in its achievements, which are considerable." "Canada is notoriously lacking in identity: until education and intercommunication are better developed, I do not think we can be too critical of Quebec." An even broader base: "the simmering unrest in Quebec has many causes, but I can focus more clearly now; I believe I can understand the causes better, and I see the roots of cause and effect extending not only in the rest of Canada but in other parts of the world".

Some commentators came close to home in their analysis of what had happened, and were honest in recognizing that stereotypes play a large part in prejudice. "My understanding of 'the French-Canadian problem', though sympathetic, was academic, compared to the personal vividness with which I can now see it. It is much more real to me, and it involves *people*, not abstractions.... I resented some of the things Claude Ryan said: now I am convinced the "maître chez nous" feeling must be respected." "I think I harbored a feeling of superiority in the matter of making 'concessions' to Quebec: now I feel they are not asking for 'hand outs', but for the means to develop their resources." As another put it, "the cordiality and closeness of the contacts" through the Tour has dispelled the former images of "cantankerous, chip-on-shoulder, peasant types". Or another: it is really something "to discover separatist views can come from lawyers not just beatniks".

Does this sound like conversion? Once again, bring in the hard lookers who said they hadn't really changed their views. But what did they gain from the Tour? "My views regarding Quebec have changed little. I realized that the separatists were a small minority, but I have a much better idea now of the changes in the thinking of middle-class people." "I've always known something of the problems in Quebec: they are in clearer perspective now but I find this only in balance with the problems of other provinces, such as the Maritimes." "Basically, my feelings about the need for changes in Quebec have been little changed: they have needed more freedom of expression in the province, and more recognition of their cultural differences outside. But my views have been clarified and broadened." On the other hand, "no great change, because I hadn't attempted to form strong views before the visit. But I can better understand their desire to resist efforts to assimilate them into 'English culture' ". And, finally, one member attempted to assess her changes of view (including some moments of pessimism!) during the Tour itself; and another maintained it "didn't probe enough in depth" to provide the material for judgment. Oh yes, and one changes his view on a different aspect: "it will be much harder to interpret all this, and to get the necessary understanding, in the rest of Canada, than I thought it would be".

III Tourist Travel, or Cultural Exposure?

There were three levels to this Tour, and some effort has to be made to distinguish them, because they were each part of the pleasure and excitement. First, the sightseeing, in city and country—the part that every tourist sees, and wants to see: but even here there were important differences, for we were very privileged tourists. Secondly, the cultural aspects of Quebec, much more diffuse, sometimes obvious (as in the village architecture or the churches) sometimes subtle (as in La Poudrière theatre or the atmosphere of the restaurants). Thirdly, the political and social elements of *le révolution tranquille*—how do you judge it? What do people really think? How different are politicians like Jean Lesage and Mayor Drapeau? Above all, what does it mean for the rest of Canada? The questionnaire made some attempt to probe all three dimensions, though of course the last was our keenest concern.

Don't underestimate the attractiveness of Quebec! It's well-known to American tourists, notably the altogether special charm of 300-year-old Quebec City. Of all the "votes", this was easily the outstanding top of the poll. The magnificent, dramatic, and artistic Place des Arts was a close second, and Montreal in general a good third. Special votes were cast for Ville Marie Centre, Ile Ste. Helène, the end of the St. Lawrence Seaway, developments for Expo '67, and La Poudrière theatre. As beautiful countryside, the Eastern Townships, with special mention of Lake Magog and the Jeunesses Musicales Centre, rated very highly. Out of Quebec City, the lovely mansion and grounds of the Bois de Coulonge (not normally available to tourists, we suppose), and the first-class new Institut Desjardins (centre for adult education) at Levis, were picked by more than half of the group who voted for the "six things most enjoyed from the point of view of scenery, countryside, architecture, etc." Next came the new universities of Montréal, Laval, and Sherbrooke, each in their way displaying contemporary design, imagination, excellent facilities, and of course a recognition of the new importance of education. Laval was particularly mentioned, perhaps because the group saw the ancient but inadequate old Seminary which previously housed faculty and students. Special mention (between a third and half of the votes) came for the countryside on the "north shore", between Montreal and Quebec—the farmhouses and the little curved-street villages bordering the St. Lawrence.

Up north, the impressive Shipshaw Dam and power-plant, the new churches at Jonquière and in Chicoutimi, and the Manoir Saguenay, and L'Etape in the Laurentides, got many mentions. The engineer among us voted for the enormous Alcan plant, awe-inspiring for its massive multiplication of what seems like a simple if elusive "rendering" operation; others voted for the Chicoutimi experience because it is characteristic of the giant industry which is an economic reality of Quebec as well as being a sore point in the political controversies—not entirely confined to the present. Some enjoyed more the small-scale rural charm of Quebec along the St. Lawrence (and noted the poverty of the soil along the Saguenay): especially the handsome Auberge at St. Jean Port-Joli, and its *cadre* of wood-carvers and other craftsmen. Some were particularly impressed with Notre Dame Cathedral in Montreal and the newly-reviving "old quarter" around Bonsecours: and one enthusiast voted for the colourful and highly up-to-date Mayor of Granby!

Cultural interests naturally overlapped at some points, but they were well understood by most respondents to the questionnaire. Two features universally marked off were very different in character but each highly significant in its own realism. One, the National Film Board, with its sensible bilingual production work, its sterling work in presenting history, geography, industry, people of every kind, educational film strips and artistic humour (characterized particularly by Norman MacLaren, whom one would like to regard as being as characteristically and well-known a Canadian as Walt Disney is an American—but is he?). The other, the BAEQ project in the Gaspé, where French-Canadian colouring has been given to the federal ARDA programs, by utilizing social science faculty and students as the "community developers". They are helping the local residents to make their own analyses, face their own facts of inadequate, worked-out resources, and lack of coordination, and hammer out their own remedies. Rural poverty has been one of the realities of Quebec far more than most have been willing to recognize: this is a new approach—none the less exciting because it is the same approach being pioneered in India and in dozens of "under-developed countries" of the world by UN teams. Many of our observers linked this, understandably, with the Caisses Populaires, learning more about their nature than they had known before: but also enjoying their hospitality at an Anniversary get-together, which included choirs and French-Canadian skits, and an art exhibit at the University of Sherbrooke. The historical associations of the old town (Quebec City) ranked high especially for those who were reliving this part of North American history for the first time (which was most of us, anyway): and a number of vows to "come again" were registered on this. The discussions at the universities, and also a very special one organized with all the administrative personnel at the Manoir Saguenay, were high spots; so also were special meetings with speeches, *vin d'honneur*, and a whole series of individual conversations at the City Hall of Shawinigan and again at Granby. At the latter city, the police escort for our bus wouldn't leave us until they at least "showed us" what we regretted having no time to visit—the Granby Zoo! One of the group puts as his choice of the six most cultural elements "talking to all kinds of ordinary people".

IV Politics or Sociology?

One of the lectures given before the Tour started was on the "sociology of Quebec", which explained particularly (a) the occupational structure and educational levels of traditional French Canada, the lack of technical training, the characteristic views of the family farm, the church, urban life, etc.; (b) the pattern of English industry, and the "Duplessis system" and its forerunners; (c) the changes after the death of Duplessis and the advent of the new Liberal government, their sources of reform and of expertise, etc. The group were asked whether this exposition had more meaning now that they had seen something of Quebec for themselves. Of those who attended the lecture, three quarters said they now understood better the differences between the "old" and the "new" Quebec. One said positively "this account gave me a new impression of the situation: it was an eyeopener". Another found the seminars much more revealing because the differences were recognizable. But here are some challenges for the adult educator: several said they "couldn't recall the lecture" (not many people took notes, and Dr. Tiger covered a lot of ground, rapidly too)! Another suggested the lecture would be much more useful now; another said it was hard to sort out the memory of the lecture and the facts and impressions gained from reading. And one-third of the group didn't go to this lecture! (For some this was not their fault because they had other commitments; it was on a different night of the week from the others.) One who had attended the lecture still found it impossible to give any meaning to "the difference between the 'old' Quebec and the 'new' ", and another suggested the differences had not eliminated one feature—the tendency to blame troubles on "the English".

There is discernible evidence that some of us now translate the vague portmanteau-word "Quebec" into *several million people*, who are of different rank and status, different ages, and certainly different views. An outstanding comment, made in many versions, is that there is no unanimity. There are plenty of contradictions between French Canadians themselves. This is one of the great virtues of round tables and panels. And the character of the panels varied also. Some were genuine exchanges: one at least (in a place which shall be nameless) retained the character of authoritarian exposé. Even here, however, there were a score of side discussions after the meeting, at which "the real issues" came out. The sight of the villages on the north shore, the tiny farms of the Gaspé, the poor soils and rough timberland of the St. Jean country, the factory workers of the giant aluminum plant of Arvida or the tiny old-fashioned textile plant of the Thériaults, the participants in the BAEQ projects, the members of the Caisses Populaires, the taxidrivers and tourist personnel, the waitresses and salesgirls, the aldermen of cities and the managerial staff of industrial plants, to say nothing of the millions of city folk in Montreal, and the students and faculty at the universities, reminded us vividly that Quebecers are very, very various and diverse.

Do they think alike? Yes, on some things, we seem to feel. The struggle is to know whether it is a new pride, a new feeling of liberation, or a self-assertion which is still partly resentment. But on diversities and shades of opinion, on differences between economic levels and social classes, above all moderates and extremists, we've had a liberal education. See how our responses show it as we go through that probing questionnaire!

V Communication

There are a lot of fancy theories about "communication" these days: some technical, some impressionistic, some more literary than political. And, there is plain adult education. Adult education takes place through reading, observing, talking and arguing—particularly having the spots knocked off your prejudices and clichés and deepest assumptions, and gradually realizing what it's like to be in someone else's skin. Will anybody deny that, *basically*, this is what the "French-Canadian issue" now is? Question 9 on our post-Tour quiz was: Do you think the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is right in saying that a 'dialogue' between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians is important, to the point of crisis? A loaded question, you may say. Well, it *is* loaded—loaded with the fate of Canada, some people now feel pretty strongly.

What do our group think after their varied exposure? Seventy per cent give an unadulterated Yes to the question. But "any other view" was invited, and both the reinforcing comments and the dissents are equally interesting. Yes, says one, "delay in mutual understanding will only raise the danger curve". Yes, says another, "but the Commission can only break the ice: people have got to follow through and get to know each other". And another—Yes—"but there will have to be an interchange of Canadians as visitors, tourists, and educators". Another Yes cinches the argument this way—"I am inclined to believe that, without Quebec, Canada will simply become part of the United States". On the other side, only two flat No's, but several doubts. Yes, says one, "but to the point of crisis?—No". Another follows this up in this way: "many moderate and thinking Quebecers have expressed their conviction that there is no crisis, but there *is* need for big changes". Finally, this: "not too dangerous—at least not all Quebec supports radical action—yet". A tiny little word, that "yet".

So, what should be done to improve communications? Our group responded vigorously to two questions: (a) do you think French Canadians have enough information about the rest of Canada? and (b) do you think the rest of Canada has enough information about Quebec? It is interesting to see how many of us, while aware that there is great lack of communication, are now struggling to be *positive* rather than negative about it. Here are two characteristic answers. "By no means. Even among the educated, their thoughts are too confined to *their* problems, and obviously a wide knowledge of the rest of Canada should permeate to all levels." "By no means: if they think of it at all, the majority brush it off as incidental. We must come to know better what makes French Canadians tick, the depth of their pride in their Province and their culture—and what a great asset economically and intellectually an awakened and educated Quebec can be to all Canada."

Let's look at the French Canadian side of the Canadian equation first. Do they know enough about "us"? Some answers vary from flat No's (and one "No—and they don't wish to know!") to "very poorly informed" and "great areas of ignorance". Several have picked up, however, the most distressing of the stereotypes from the other side of the "rideau bilingue", "We don't like being called "les Anglais" or "the English" (we took occasion to point this out in many ways, and some of us tried to get a little consideration of that even more gigantic semantic, "the Americans"): there are all kinds of differences between Canadians who speak English—just as we began rapidly to perceive the many differences between Canadians of *l'expression française*. On the other hand, it's interesting that there is much less reference to "les Protestants", very common in the "old days", and some Catholics told us they now prefer the word "Christian". (For those who like irony, there are now far more French Canadian "protesters"!)

Says one sharp commentator, it's not only lack of information, but lack of *interest*. More mildly, another suggests there is goodwill but not enough *understanding*. Shouldn't we face the fact that there has been lack of interest—even a kind of insulation? Three different French Canadians observed to me there has been much too much "contemplation of navels" (it's more symbolic in French), and one of them added "ecclésiastique et séculaire". The gaze is now extending to everything around "ecclésiastique et séculaire"—and the effects are evident. Our commentators have tried to be understanding from their side. Oh yes, says one, they know all about discrimination in employment! Another, they need to be reassured that the interest now expressed in French-Canadian culture is genuine; and, after all, they're struggling with the re-shaping of it themselves. Yet another, perhaps they'll be more concerned with the rest of Canada when they have solved some of their own immediate problems. And some of our sharp-eyed members remind us again of two realistic Canadian dimensions. One is sheer geography. "They have hardly any conception of the prairies or Western Canada generally." "British Columbia is much too far away—and expensive to reach." "Ontario is considered the only important other province, and they have a lot of biased ideas about that." The other is social class, and its educational implications. "The intelligentsia and the educated know a good deal about the rest of Canada, but not the unskilled worker or the poorer farmers." "Those who have travelled know as much as anybody, but how many are there?" "The higher up, the more they know." "The worst of all stereotypes is 'Ottawa'. Whatever this is supposed to be, it certainly doesn't mean Canada."

What about English-Canadian knowledge of Quebec? Misunderstanding is rife, many say. A few dig deeper and see the "cultural lag" in people's conceptions of "Quebec". Their mental picture is of French Canada as it was in the oversimplified history books of *habitants* and *coureurs du bois* of about 1900, or even 1940. "Priest-ridden Quebec" lingers. Old issues still rankle, such as that of the conscription issue—bitter enough at the time, but hardly relevant now (unless it applies to the Canadian contingents for the UN peace force, and how much is this a *national* issue?). "The sea-changes have occurred only since about 1959:

can we catch up fast?" is one comment. "I am sure", says one frank member, "most Canadians know less than I did before this experience, and I realize I didn't know enough then to assess the situation properly." Where are we to get the information: *we* were alerted to conflicting histories taught in schools, by our historian's lectures: for the rest "we depend too much on the mass media" (more than French Canadians, one wonders?). "The press", accuses one member, "plays up incidents and provocative statements." Another, redressing the balance, asserts that there is much more interest and more knowledge in recent years, both from Quebec reporting and from the activities of the B. and B. Commission (but how many people know about their research studies?). One wonders, must there always be such a gulf between "news" and "education"? (What would one think of a teacher who said "I have to give my students what they want to hear, you know"). But sheer geography (or rather, distance) handicaps us also. Who knows where Rimouski, or even Sherbrooke, is? "Western Canada is largely indifferent to French complaints." "The idea of 'more concessions to Quebec' is widespread, and it distorts the issue." Perhaps a minority view, but one of *our* complaints is that "Ontario is too important, and now we lump in Quebec with the 'east'". On the other hand, several suggest that British Columbia is somewhat more kindly regarded by French Canadians (even if some of them do call it Colombie *Canadienne*!)—perhaps because it's so far away, more likely because they hear (or sense?) that it's a bit separatist, too! (We were asked about it several times, not too seriously perhaps: but some of us were as hard put to it repudiating the idea, as the moderates were explaining the separatists to us, in Quebec.) The forthright comment of one member should be recorded here: "They feel more kinship with us, probably because we're so parochial". Et tu, Brute!

One chink in the mass-media armour does seem to show. Several suggested that, with the large coverage being given to educational changes, more attention should be drawn to the valiant efforts in Quebec from the new Minister of Education (M. Gérin-Lajoie) down through the Tremblay and Parent reports, the technical schools, the curriculum upheaval, the universities, the concern with the sciences, and with the social sciences, to enterprises like the BAEQ. The opportunities for exchange of personnel here seem realistic, more so than the dream of teaching all the younger generation to be fluent in French! And we ought to remember how many Canadians are participating in educational ventures under UN, and Canadian, technical assistance programs. (They get coverage on radio; but in newspapers?).

Another stratum of realism is pictured in our observers' remarks. Quebec, to the English speaking, is something of a travel adventure. In fact, one or two said "it's a foreign country", or at least it's "like being in a foreign country". This means at least that inhibitions have to be overcome. It may help, to share these feelings with French Canadians who feel lost in the wilds of Toronto. Some put it bravely: "I didn't know how fascinating and appealing it could be" or "No, they don't know Quebec: they don't know what they're missing". And what about this for a generous thought: "One has a strong sense of history here—and a feeling of being a 'newcomer' even though a third-generation Canadian"! Surely Expo '67, which will draw its millions, will induce thousands of Canadians to "see Canada first", outside of Montreal as well as in the Big City: perhaps it's one of our best investments in an "open Canada", after all!

VI Culture and Constitutional Changes

English Canadians—and French Canadians, too, if the truth were told, can be pretty vague about the Constitution. If an opinion survey were conducted on what's in the British North America Act, and what isn't, we'd probably be in for some shocks. On the theory that the constitution is now too important to be left to the lawyers, therefore, the questionnaire linked two issues together. 1. Do you feel that the French Canadian issue is too complex for you to have a clear opinion on the need for constitutional changes, etc.? and 2. Do you think preservation of French culture is important to Canada, or unimportant, or irrelevant? An exhortation followed: If you would like to say more about this, please let yourself go on the back of the page. This invitation was freely accepted. Here is one answer which summed up a lot: "I need to know more about all kinds of constitutional changes (including the United Nations charter!). Do constitutions bring more grief than settlement? How can they be made to ensure flexibility in a fast-changing world?" And on the human side on the constitution (which is what "the culture" is about): "it would be a tragedy if French Canadian contributions were lost to Canada. With the educational changes now under way, Quebec culture will expand and its stultifying traditions grow obsolete; for example, more women are entering the professions, more men the physical sciences and the social sciences as against philosophy and theology". This is a dynamic approach to culture: it may not explain what constitutional changes can do—but it does indicate that the B.N.A. Act must not stand in the way.

"Not too complex, but complex enough" is the gist of reactions on these critical issues. Says one, "the effort must be made"; but another feels "neither side sufficiently understands the other yet to sit down together and arrive at any consensus". It may be a surprise to learn that a small minority think that "the French culture" as an issue *is* irrelevant. One expression of this view is that it does no good in today's world to foster the separation of one culture above another. "There are elements in all human relations more important than one's background culture—honesty, tolerance, consideration for others, for example". "We need a blending of all ethnic cultures in Canada, and only such elements will bring this about." A different angle is that "French Canadians certainly 'want to keep their culture', but they're not always sure of what it is, and it's certainly confusing when it is mixed up with mother-tongue". It is indeed confusing: "culture" is too readily identified with the *status quo* (which is one of the troubles with that vast generality, the "American way of life"); yet what French Canadians are sure of at the moment is that they want *change*. I suppose the consensus of *our* group comes closest to saying we welcome discussion of the changes. As one answer puts it, at least we must be sure there is "a framework permitting healthy development together". And others see that a "well-preserved Gallic culture" could be an asset. It could have 'external' advantages in attracting Canadians to visit Quebec—one hopes, as neighbours and fellow-citizens; it has 'internal' value, because it means feelings of pride and accomplishment.

V THE LEARNER: EXERCISING THE RIGHT TO LEARN

It is yours to keep
And mine to be kept
And keep me you do
That is, all except
My mind, which
I know is mine
To serve me
And not my time.
It goes through this wall
Whenever I wish
No part is vulnerable
To your lock and key
For I am its master
And it serves only me.

M.L.S.
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One of the sections in the United Nations' Charter of Rights says that there is a level of education to which every human being is entitled "by right." Clearly, access to learning is a human need and a human entitlement.

Adult Education in Canada has invariably emphasised *learning* as distinguished from *teaching*. Marked attempts to reach a deeper understanding of the *learner* came during the 1960's and constituted a distinctive flavour or character. Notable were a series of studies focussed on *individual* learners, *continuing* learners, and *self-directed* learners by Allen Tough and a number of associates. It was the period when the concept of the "learning society" was developed by Alan Thomas and others until, a decade later, it was accepted as the title of a famous report on post-secondary education in Ontario. Other concepts of the decade were *lifelong learning* and the *learning system*, which comprises people of all ages engaged in the act of learning.

In this section we present some notable continuing learners, each contributing his own insight about the unfolding process called learning, what it is about, how it happens, and how to sustain it. Several of the writers are educationists, some obscure, some famous: one is an internationally known business executive, one a therapist, three are newspaper reporters and editors. The environments for learning are found wherever human beings congregate to work or play or consume or govern. And the process, as Jindra Kulich reminds us, started many centuries ago.

(1) The Adult Self-Learner—an Historical Perspective

JINDRA KULICH (1968)

One can say, generally, that up to fairly recent times, when most nations accepted a goal of widespread and readily available schooling for everybody, self-education was the prime way for man to cope with the world around him. The universal man of the Renaissance, the highly skilled guild craftsman of the Baroque period, are excellent examples of the self-learning adult. With the introduction of free compulsory education for children, following the Industrial Revolution, many educators have forgotten the need of the adult to continue learning, although the working man struggling for his place in the industrial society and the North American self-made man provide us with ample examples of the self-educated adult. In our own time we seem to have gone the full circle, as in spite of the extended schooling period for our children and youth we have to rely increasingly on the adult's ability to engage in a lifelong self-learning process. However, his ability may not be developed and used to the full, and his learning will not be efficient, unless we can equip him with the necessary tools and skills and give him the support and organizational assistance he needs.

If we search for support for the claim of man's ability as a self-learner, we can find it with the Greek philosophers. Socrates spoke about the wise as those who have mastered self-control, and declared himself as a self-learner who is not ashamed to learn from everyone around him. Plato saw as the ultimate goal of education of the young the ability of the adult for self-education. Aristotle talks about the principle of self-realization, the entelechy, a potentiality for wisdom in each living being which can be developed both through self-education and through the help of a teacher. The Roman statesman Seneca extolled planned, purposeful self-education, which he exemplified through his own life. All education through others must ultimately aim at inculcating the ability for self-education, and that this ability needs frequent re-charging and guidance from outside the individual.

Alexander the Great is known to have had the works of Homer with him in all his travels and Caesar included in his daily work-plan time for writing and study. Marcus Aurelius is an excellent example of a continuing self-learner. Alfred the Great, the English medieval king, is said to have devoted every minute that he could spare from his duties as a ruler to the improvement of his mind.

Centuries later, Erasmus of Rotterdam outlined in his *Study of Christian Philosophy*, published in 1516, didactical guidelines of self-education.

Immanuel Kant, the German philosopher, almost three centuries later presented what he termed "pragmatical" assistance for self-education of adults in his *Anthropology*. The educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi declared "I have to raise myself, through my own effort, to the degree of perfection made possible by my own nature," and the historian Edward Gibbon wrote in his autobiography "Every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself." But the most eloquent affirmation of self-education, both in his writing and through his own life, is presented by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren* Goethe illustrates forcibly his philosophical concept of the forever striving, forever learning man. In the drama *Dr. Faust*, who is Goethe's prototype of the modern man, the study-room is *the* cell of self-education. Goethe's call for the personal responsibility for man's self-education has influenced German intellectuals up to recent times.

In the sixteenth century, Ignatius of Loyola, thirty-three years old, had decided to educate himself through the means of exercises which he himself prescribed. His *Spiritual Exercises* became the pedagogical handbook of the teaching order of the Jesuits, which he founded. Rene Descartes, described in his *Discourse on Method* how he early abandoned his teachers and the study of letters, and sought his education in experience and observation of himself and the world around him, and how he through reflection on his experience improved himself. Jean Jacques Rousseau acquired his education largely through self-study, and the German writer Christoph Martin Wieland demonstrated in his autobiographical novel *Agathon* the dictim of the Enlightenment that the adult can and should be engaged in a process of self-education. At about the same time, Johann Gottfried Herder outlined his own program of self-education in his *Reisejournal*.

On the North American continent, Benjamin Franklin can be seen as one of the early leaders in self-education. His *Autobiography* is not only a gospel of the materially successful self-made man; it also points out the way to self-education through reading and discussion. Another American, Henry David Thoreau, upheld the right of the individual to self-culture, and demanded the freedom for every man to follow his unique style of life. In his two-year experiment at the Walden pond he tried to affirm his faith in "the unquestionable ability of man to elevate his life by conscious endeavour." The success story of Thomas Alva Edison, who with only three months of public school as a child rose to become one of the most prolific inventors and who was engaged in learning and discovery almost to his death, is perhaps the best known American example of the self-educated and self-learning adult.

In order to have a look at another tool of the self-learning adult, we have to return to the Romans. Varro's *Of School Studies in Nine Books* is acclaimed as one of the earliest archetypes of encyclopedias. It was followed by the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder and by Seneca's *National Questions*. The modern type encyclopedia, with alphabetical arrangement and bibliographies attached to the articles, is said to have been established by John Harris in his *Lexicon technicum*, published in England in 1704. Ephraim Chambers published in 1728 his *Cyclopedia*, not to be confused with the *Chamber's Encyclopedia* which was published in the first edition between 1859-68. The first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* appeared in only three volumes in 1771 at Edinburgh. The renowned *Encyclopedia* of the French encyclopedists under the leadership of Diderot was not completed until 1772; in the spirit of the Enlightenment it was aimed at enlightening the populace and was a prime tool of self-education. The *Konversationslexikon*, published in the first edition in 1808 by Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, is still today one of the best encyclopedias in the German language. On this continent, the first noteworthy American encyclopedia, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, edited by Francis Lieber, was published in 13 volumes between 1829-33.

However, it is not only through books that the self-learning adult can progress. Since the ancient times, travel, combined with careful observation, was an important educational experience. I have already mentioned the educational influence of the crusades. The wandering scholars of the middle ages and the wandering journeymen craftsmen at the height of the guild system are good examples of adults in search of new learning. Later on, purposeful and planned travel of the European intellectuals, which especially in the case of the Russian aristocracy and intelligentsia must not be under-estimated, was of considerable educational importance, as was the "wandering into the wide world" of the young men from the villages and journeymen from small provincial towns during the nineteenth century. The trend to mass travel, developed since the Second World War, has important implications for us as adult educators, but seems to receive only limited attention.

Instructive letters can be considered as the forerunners of formal correspondence instruction. Graff in his interesting article on the development of correspondence study traced instructive letters back to the biblical times and to early Greek and Roman history. These letters play an important role in the Roman Catholic Church to this day.

According to Noffsinger, the year 1840 marks the beginning of modern correspondence instruction, as in that year Isaac Pitman in England offered for the first time his shorthand course to distant pupils via the new penny post. However it is probable that correspondence study has been "invented" again and again, all over the world, as a response to learning needs that are common. Ruskin College had a correspondence department since its foundation, and the University of London began its correspondence courses in 1887. In continental Europe, the first and famous correspondence school was established in Berlin in 1856 by Charles Toussaint and Gustav Langenscheidt. The establishment of the

Rustinches Fernlehrinstitut, also in Berlin, followed in 1894. In Sweden, Hans Hermod established at Malmö the now well known Hermods National Korespondance Institut. In Russia, correspondence study had its beginnings in the late nineteenth century and the first public demand for organized correspondence courses preparing for higher education was voiced at a conference in 1908. After the turn of the century, home study schools spread throughout Europe and now correspondence education, education-at-a-distance, plays an important role in the education of adults, especially in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

In the United States a Society to Encourage Studies at Home was founded by Anna Elliott Ticknor at Boston in 1873. However, the school was short-lived and did not survive past the death of its founder. The Illinois Wesleyan University was the first institution to start, in 1874 a successful correspondence study leading to bachelors degrees and planned eventually to lead to masters and doctorate degrees. (Compare with Queen's University, Canada in the same period.) The successful program was forced to close down in 1910 as other universities refused to recognize degrees granted entirely on the basis of correspondence study. A short-lived experiment was the Correspondence University, founded at Ithaca, New York, in 1883 by a group of thirty-two professors from a wide variety of colleges and universities. In spite of its name and ambitions the school had no state charter and no authority to grant degrees.

Among Europeans, two outstanding modern examples of self-educated adults are the young Russian novelist Maksim Gorki, who had to earn his living since his eighth year and acquired most of his education on his own as he worked and travelled throughout Russia, and the Nobel Prize winner for literature Knut Hamsun, who found it possible to learn throughout his restless wanderings in Europe and the United States.

If we were to reflect about all these men who preached and lived self-education, we would note that, with the fairly recent exceptions, they were not common men; they were rulers, philosphers, and writers. Furthermore, most of them had a good basis of education to start with and were highly motivated to continue the process of life-long self-education. During the last one hundred and fifty years their drive for self-education has been emulated by the elite of the working class. However, effective self-education involving great numbers of adults was not possible without motivation and assistance from outside. We shall now turn to a review of the development of this assistance from the early times to the independent study of our own days.

The public debates in the Roman Republic were a school of politics and public speaking for the adult self-learner by means of observation and active participation. Later on, in the middle ages, the adult learned to appreciate art and music in the local church or cathedral, was influenced by the morality plays, and acquired new learning through participation in the crusades.

The universal man of the Italian renaissance in his life-long search of learning is the prime example of the adult self-learner. In northern Europe and in England, by mid-sixteenth century, as Kelly points out, the "new humanist ideal of the virtuous and cultivated gentleman, skilled in the arts of self-government, in languages . . . , in sciences . . . , and in music and physical exercises" replaced the old medieval courtier. The Reformation in central and northern Europe brought about more stress on the individual, as did the renaissance in the south. Reading and study of the Bible in the vernacular by families and individuals in towns and villages, and the emerging protestant ethic provided new motivation for the self-learning adult. The ravages of the Thirty Years' War slowed down this process in central Europe, but even the economic ruin and the decimation of population resulting from the war, could not stop this process completely.

Meanwhile, in England, already during the late Tudor period a new significant development took place in the appearance of an increasing number of manuals and archetypes of textbooks, aimed primarily at the working man. Kelly quotes from one of the first of such manuals, Edmund Coote's *Englische Scholemaister*, published in 1596, that "it was designed not only for the teacher, but also for 'the unskillful, which desire to make use of it, for their own private benefit,' " and draws the conclusion that the manual "must be reckoned as one of the earliest manuals for self-education." Other early elementary textbooks from this period include a mathematics textbook by Robert Recorde, and a manual on geometry and astronomy for the craftsmen by Leonard Digges.

An English institution which blossomed in the second half of the seventeenth century and provided motivation and opportunity for the adult self-learner was the coffee house, which at its height before the Revolution, especially in London, was an important intellectual centre where the political, religious, literary and scientific ideas of the day were discussed.

From the earliest times, the importance of libraries for self-education cannot be overstressed. But it is especially the growth of parish, subscription and later on public libraries, which provided an opportunity and considerably aided the self-learning adult. The first European public library, the Vatican Library, was established in the 15th century. The first public library in the United States was opened in Boston as early as 1653, but it took until 1833 to establish the first tax supported public library at Peterborough in New Hampshire. In spite of the highly developed literary tradition in Germany, the first German public library was founded in Berlin in 1850, on the initiative of Friedrich von Raumer who was inspired by American public libraries on his visit to the United States in 1841.

The rapid development of the public libraries in Germany, which was actively supported by the book publishers, had called forth an interesting secondary development in the publication of inexpensive paper editions of high literary and scholarly level, published in considerable number of copies. The most successful and sustained effort in this line is the *Universalbibliothek* founded in 1867 by Heinrich Reclam. This innovation in the publishing business spread to other European countries and blossomed between the two world wars. It was not until after the Second World War that this important tool of self-education took a significant foothold in England in the form of the Penguin books (and their cousins Pelicans, Puffins etc.) which by now have achieved world-wide fame and distribution. The American publishers were very slow in accepting paperback books and held off until the late 1950's, but then they too were swept up into the most significant development in book publishing since the invention of the Gutenberg press. Once the paperback was accepted, American expertise in marketing and mass distribution made it available at newspaperstands, bus and train stations, drugstores and grocery stores, places frequented by the adult who would not venture into a book store.

The correspondence lessons started in 1881 by William Rainey Harper in response to requests by students in his Hebrew class at the Chautauqua School of Languages, set in motion a significant chain reaction. The experiment proved so successful that the new method was incorporated into the Chautauqua movement. Harper's experience led him to write an insightful analysis of the correspondence method and its early development in the United States, quoted at length by John H. Vincent in *The Chautauqua Movement*, published in 1886. When Harper went to the University of Chicago in 1892 to be its first president, he had established correspondence study as one of the important divisions in the extension department, which was one of the five main organizational units of the university. The Chicago University Home Study Division operated for 72 years until it was closed down in 1964. In spite of considerable controversy about the efficacy of university correspondence teaching, some other universities and colleges followed the lead of Chicago. One of the most important of these was the University of Wisconsin, which opened a correspondence teaching department in 1906. Between 1906 and 1910 seven additional universities established correspondence programs and in 1913 the University of California at Berkeley set up a program which by 1964 grew to be considered the largest university-based correspondence operation in the United States.

However, universities were not the only ones to venture into home study. Thomas J. Foster, editor of the *Mining Herald* in Pennsylvania, prompted by the enactment of the state mine safety law, started to publish in 1886 a question-and-answer column on problems of mine safety. Later, he also published pamphlets preparing for the state examination. The interest generated by his column and pamphlets led him to the establishment of a correspondence course, which eventually led to the foundation of the first private correspondence school in the United

States, the International Correspondence Schools (ICS). Foster's success brought other private ventures into a field of home study.

Since the turn of the century, professional and trade associations, business and industry, labour unions, and government agencies entered the field with varying degrees of success. The one government agency which deserves to be mentioned in this connection is the Army Institute, established in 1941 and extended in 1943 to cover all the armed services and reconstituted as the U.S. Armed Forces Institute (USAFI).

On the international scene, it is worth mentioning that the International Council on Correspondence Education was organized in 1938 in Victoria, B.C. The European Council for Education by correspondence, founded at Leiden in the Netherlands in 1962, seems to be an effective organization for the advancement and improvement in the quality of correspondence schools in Western Europe.

Since the last war, and particularly in the 1960's, new media, in addition to books and correspondence lessons, increasingly have come into use and the concept is rapidly changing from correspondence study to independent study. Some exciting experiments are going on in Japan, England, Europe and on this continent of which the Open University is just the best known.

Independent study, *Fernstudium, samoobrazouanje*, is well developed especially in Eastern Europe. One of the stated aims of the adult education system in Yugoslavia is to equip the adult learner with all the attitudes and skills he needs for independent study up to the utopian vision where the adult educator will literally do himself out of work.

The concept of *education permanente* is slowly gaining ground. Life-long integrated learning can succeed only if we mobilize the human ability to learn throughout life in a systematic way. Independent study, and the self-learning adult, will have to form a considerable part of this integrated, life-long system of education.

Some of the problems encountered or stimulated by adult students come from the fact that they must undertake their learning as marginal students. That is, they study at institutions which for a variety of reasons are not overly concerned with them, and which historically have regarded provision for adults as an extra burden on their responsibilities to be treated as summarily as possible. Some of the problems arise simply because they are adults, and behave differently from children and youth, who have never known anything but school and family, and whose entire attention is preoccupied by these institutions. Our failure to distinguish between the two sets of problems is something that must be corrected very soon. If it is not corrected by the institutions, it will probably be corrected by the students.

First, there are some physical problems. These are partly a result of simply growing up, partly a result of the normal situation of the adult student who studies during his spare time, usually after a full day's work.

With respect to the former, variations among adults at any particular age are as great as between age groups, but it is safe to use the normal standards related to hearing, sight, and vital capacity. As people grow beyond 25 or so, hearing, sight, and energy in general do decline and may be particular problems if learning is tacked on to an ordinary day's responsibilities. It takes a real insight into the curious qualities of learning to realize why so many adults engage in some harsher demands of formal education so willingly and acquit themselves so well. Nevertheless, it is true that such matters as physical facilities, light, heat, stairs to climb, and duration of classes, some comforts such as soft chairs, coffee breaks, and the like should be considered. We are infinitely more careful of the young with the measured amounts of foot candles and all that, who probably need such care less, than we are of adult students. Given the determination of the great bulk of adult students presently identified, these problems are minor; but if we want more adults learning, we are going to have to exert more care.

Anyone visiting a Canadian university campus on a weeknight surely cannot fail to be astonished at the fact that there is no parking space to be found—anywhere. It is a tribute both to the relative affluence of adult students, as well as to the fact that they are invariably part-time students. This part-time aspect engenders a variety of problems for teaching institutions, that only some have tried to solve. Atkinson College at York University is one example of an attempt to create a genuine student milieu for the adult, part-time student. Counselling services are beginning to be developed, and some other facilities. One of the questions that invariably presents itself is, need the faculty be part-time, or must it be over-time? If some planning is done, if adult students are considered as valuable and welcome students, then the tired adult student who can be vitalized by learning need not be faced by the tired teacher or lecturer who has already done a full day's work. If we really want adult students, then surely the reverse should be true. The tired adult needs and deserves the most lively, sensitive, and energetic teacher. Curiously enough at the best of occasions, adult students and teachers of adults, whatever the time of day, often revitalize each other.

But of greater consequence are the psychological aspects of the adult student. These can generally be considered under the general term of "attitude," and include attitudes to school, education, study, and institutionalized forms of learning; attitudes to self and that self's ability and right or freedom to engage in learning. From an abstract or general point of view, the ability of adults to learn seems to vary as much as that of children. Other than the fact that adults seem slower in their reaction time, and find greater difficulty with memorization, there is no evidence to indicate that any adult is less able to learn any particular thing than at any other age. On the other hand, the greater experience of adults seems to work both ways, both positively and negatively. The adult student will have learned something about learning, and more particularly about himself learning. He will also have acquired some of the general social attitudes that exist towards adults-in-school. There used to be a good deal of embarrassment to be suffered by adults going to school when schools were so obviously places for children. There was a sense of failure, of having to start again, of being dumb or stupid, all summed up in the now-disappearing phrase "going *back* to school." In short it was a retreat. These attitudes are now fortunately disappearing, though in rural parts of Canada they are still held to some degree both by adults and institutions.

(2) The Adult Student: His Role as Student and Member

ALAN M. THOMAS (1966)

Adults have always engaged in learning. In some societies, as Sir Geoffrey Vickers has observed,[1] to learn was a privilege purchased by the rich, not just for their children, but for themselves. In pioneer, immigrant societies, like Canada was, adults engaged in learning simply to survive. In modern, industrial, technological societies, like Canada is, learning as an adult is now not a privilege of the rich, but a necessity both for individuals and for the society. What is astonishing is that our historical preoccupation with the education of the young seems still to blind us to the enormous potential of adult learning. Having depended upon it repeatedly in times of national emergency, at other times we seem in our official institutional capacity depressingly ready to relegate the adult learner to a status of irritating necessity.

Despite this general attitude, moderated by some remarkable Canadian believers in adult learning, many of whom are better known abroad than in Canada, the person who will become the symbol of these past twenty years, and the next twenty, is the adult "student." Allen Tough of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has indicated that many adults are self-teachers.[2] We know that many adults learn in a great variety of roles, as members of organizations learning things to accomplish collective goals, as workers in factories, as apprentices in a great variety of occupations and recreational activities, learning through planned experience. Clark and Sloan in the United States have shown that it is extremely difficult to find any avenue of contemporary life where deliberate teaching and learning is not going on.[3]

However, what we are concerned with here is the adult "student." This is the person, beyond the age of sixteen, and outside of the conventional group of college and university students, who by formal registration at an institution of learning indicates a willingness to carry out a program of learning leading to some form of certification.

The distinction from other students over sixteen is arbitrary, and grows more so every day. On the one hand, it can be argued that all "students" over the age of sixteen are indicating greater and sometimes aggressive propensities to be treated as though they are adults. Indeed, the best solution to the problem may be to do just that. On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands of adults in Canada who take part in well-organized, often long-term programs that do not lead to any form of certification, but to the satisfaction of being able to do something well, to understand something not understood before, to feel or experience something that was neither felt nor experienced before. Just how adult learning is translated into adult education is a subject for some necessary study. However, by concentrating on the problem of the formally-declared, self-conscious adult student, we can throw some light not only on his or her problem but on the problems of the teaching institutions and of the society as a whole. Almost by definition, the adult student is a person attempting to carry out his education in the hands of an institution the main purpose of which is the education of someone else. It is an institution which, by and large, has made only tentative adjustments to the fact that adults do not become less adult simply because they become students. Despite other more popular and dramatic preoccupations, *this* is the real educational crisis of the times.

To set the stage properly one should offer some minimal justification of concern. This is hard to do, because adult students are not counted very accurately in Canada and the figures are almost always three years late—useful history, but not very good data for planning. In 1956/58, an American study counted about twenty-five million adults undertaking formally-identified programs, just under a quarter of the adult population. In Canada, a comparable figure would be two and a half to three million, but it was probably a smaller percentage at that time. Now, there are probably between two and a half to three million adults actively engaged in identifiable courses. That is a lot of adults, when you add to that the fact that they are concentrated in the more influential sections of the society. But it is nothing to what is to come in the next decade, when the population bulge that has slowly inundated the formal schools begins to impinge on adult life and on adult education.

A second group of attitudes relates to the adult's attitude to the teaching institutions based on his previous experience. If school for him or her was a frustrating, incomprehensible, disappointing experience, as it undoubtedly has been for many of the "poor" in Canada, then the return to it as an adult will be accompanied by very mixed feelings. It will have required some exceedingly maturing experiences to induce a belief that an institution that was not helpful before will be helpful now. Some adults do have this sort of experience, but many return to school nowadays because there is nothing else to do. They cannot find work and to survive must seek help under such schemes as the Occupational Training

Act—the Manpower Scheme. Many adults don't realize they have these attitudes and manifest them only indirectly. For the teaching institution, understanding and exploring such attitudes is a prime necessity, one that is only now being planned for.

But by far the most important set of attitudes, true of any adult, is the set that relates to confidence in learning. Even general success in school as a child, a characteristic that seems common to the largest proportion of adult students, will have produced confidence in abilities to learn some things, and no confidence with respect to others. These attitudes combined with a steady assimilation of some of the devastating folklore about inabilities of adults to learn, or perhaps to learn anything of consequence to himself or anyone else, generally summed up by the term "basket-weaving," can and does produce some difficulties. In the early stages of the Quo Vadis School of Nursing, a revolutionary school allowing older women who have raised families or done other things, to become registered nurses, the single most important problem was the belief of the women that they couldn't learn the "textbook" material to which they were exposed. It is true that they experienced great difficulty initially, simply because they were out of practice. While they had raised their children or held jobs and fulfilled all the other adult roles, their perceptions and memories had been trained to notice and record, even to recall, different things, or at least to do so in a different way. They had forgotten how to go to school, and the attendant skills had grown rusty. In its turn, the school had to accept the fact that there are other ways to learn, and that learning or relearning new ways to learn is an important stage for the adult student. Fortunately, in the case of the Quo Vadis experiment, a reasonable amount of mutual adjustment took place. Partly because it was a school totally concerned with adults, it was able to respond to the many practical things these students excelled at, and to maintain patience and offer help while they retrained their learning styles. Needless to say, almost all of these women became first class nurses, and new ones are doing so each year. What has to be remembered and somehow included in any teaching program for adults is the awareness that school is a special environment requiring particular, identifiable skills and that the adult needs time to re-acquire these skills before he is confronted too dramatically with the substance of his endeavor. It's not overwhelmingly difficult to do this, though for a variety of reasons we have not often tried very hard.

There is another set of circumstances that bear on every adult. The adult student is a voluntary student. The degree of voluntariness of course varies, and does so increasingly as adult education responds to new social demands. At the one end of the spectrum is the adult who is free enough in every way to take an evening class in motor mechanics, calculus, or art, for his own amusement and self-development. At the other is the student in an occupational program, whose redundant skill has forced him to re-enter training with government support in order to become once again employable. All adult students exist somewhere along this spectrum in terms of the freedom of their choice to engage in learning. At our worst in adult education in Canada, we tend to write off the first type of person as a dilettante merely entertaining himself, and to ignore the special needs of the second sort because he has to be there. At our best we are making adjustments to the needs and potential of both, though slowly.

Having persuaded himself to commit the time and effort that an educational program requires, to sacrifice the time that was available for a wife or husband, children, other normal pursuits, the adult student must also persuade those around him to sacrifice their claims to his time. Cyril Houle reports in *The Inquiring Mind* that this decision is often made only with considerable strain and that sympathy for the adult learner, unlike that for the successful young, is not very widespread. What needs to be remembered is that the battle is never finally won, or perhaps it is won only when the course is completed victoriously, and the need to win vanishes. Usually the persuasion to sacrifice time and enjoyment for someone else's learning must be kept up continuously, and it is always accompanied by some sense of personal guilt. This may account for the intense pressure for success exhibited by adult students, the concern over grading and evaluation, and the preference for fixed programs of reasonable duration with clear beginnings and endings. The adult student must be able to justify to those persons close to him why they must make sacrifices of time and opportunity in order to accommodate his or her needs for class and study time. The price of lost evenings to a wife or husband, of lost weekends to children and other members of the family, or to friends, is often high. All too often it seems that success in terms of safe passage or a certificate is success mainly for the learner. Failure in terms of lost hopes and lost time is failure for everyone close as well. If all the partners to the endeavor are themselves engaged in learning, then the stress is considerably eased. It seems demonstrable that children are more successful "learners" when parents are happily engaged in their own learning.

What is also demonstrable is that almost all our educational time cycles are wrong or inappropriate for adult students. The eight-month year is too long, the value of the fifteen-week semester underestimated and underexplored. What may take a child a whole year to deal with often takes an adult a much shorter time, if learning and proper evaluation can be substituted for traditional procedures. The summer has long been underestimated except by a few adult educators, though a good deal of progress has been made in recent years. There is a pressing need for greater experimentation and flexibility in course times and program duration so that the adult student can vary employment and study more satisfactorily.

Students and Members

If we take the entire spectrum of adult learning—that is, from the adult student laboriously pursuing an ordered series of courses towards some degree or certificate awarded by an established institution, to the man or woman acquiring through observation or attendance at an evening workshop the minimum skills of running a meeting or directing a project of some kind—it becomes quite clear that there are two main roles within which most adult learning is accomplished. In the first case the role is as a *student*, the formal, institutionalized, conventional role created by organized education. The latter case demands the role of a *member*, a less formal, less organized, less conventional group of behaviours, and one certainly less associated with learning or education. Despite this fact, it is safe to argue that in the past, and in the present, and probably in the future, far more adult learning is accomplished in the *member* role than in the *student* role. Yet it is of the greatest importance that we understand the difference between them and the nature of each.

One interesting fact is that in the practice of education the roles are not mutually exclusive. On the part of both the learner and the institution, in varying degrees, one seems to beget the other. This suggests, as we shall argue, that there is some psychological quality in each role that is of very great consequence to learning. However, it helps at the outset to examine each separately as though one were entirely distinct from the other.

The student role is quite familiar to everyone, so much so that it is rarely examined. One reason for this is probably because it is so implicit in the formal institutions that we normally associate with learning and teaching that we never have admitted the existence of contrasting roles associated with learning. Another reason is that compulsory education, from which we draw most of our examples, by virtue of its requiring compulsory participation, at least physically, has eliminated most of the spontaneous characteristics of membership and quite sharply emphasized and distorted the student role to the exclusion of any other. Everyone becomes familiar with being a student early in the game.

The outstanding characteristic of the student role is that it is completely dependent. This characteristic is established early because the child in the school system is dependent in every sense, just as he is dependent outside of school. He is a ward of the educational agency which operates *in loco parentis*—with a vengeance. But the dependency continues long after the individual's emergence from compulsory attendance and dependence on his parents. In fact it continues right to the end of graduate school and after. The authority of parents and paternal school systems is replaced quite unobtrusively and almost (at least until recently) painlessly, by the authority of knowledge, competence, and skill. It is replaced also by the institutional control of rewards and accreditation, that is, of access to employment and prestige. It used to be that the authority of age and length of experience also played a role, but recently students have grown older, and specialized teachers younger so this is not quite so prominent a factor as it once was. It is in fact the product from both directions of rapid social change, wherein the young learn the new things earlier and faster, and the old must go on learning longer. Above it is the institution that determines what will be learned, when and where and how long it should take. It is also the institution which possesses the ultimate power of telling the student how well it has been learned, completely independently of the student's own judgment.

The student's role is a highly individualized one. The institution creates competition among individual students by public individual evaluations, by rewards, and by its system of accreditation. The student is grouped according to criteria established by the institution; the groups are rational and sociological, not psychological except at the upper limits unless inspired teaching is accompanied by some luck. Thus the relationship is predominantly one of student to institution, and only secondarily of student to student despite the hopes and efforts of good teachers. However, this is not to say that the student is treated pedagogically as an individual (a relationship much touted by educational theorists) but only that he is treated socially, and philosophically as one. Courses are not tailored to his needs, but tuition fees, rewards and administration are. The student role is one of constant conflicts between self-advancement and gratification which is emphasized by one aspect of the teaching institution, and loyalties to the collective demands created by the circumstances of group instruction. The nature of these demands becomes much clearer when you examine the situation of the adult or part-time student, where the conditions of day-time participation, all of which are collective in effect, are diminished and the individual self-enhancing characteristics are maximized.

Finally the student role is quite self-conscious, a characteristic which also reinforces the individualizing aspects. The individual has, once the compulsory period is passed, chosen to involve himself in learning, chosen to alter his behaviour in terms of characteristics presented by an outside institution. Not only does he engage in the behaviour required as a means of learning (attendance at classes, writing, studying, memorizing) but more subtly he has committed himself to adopt behaviour that the institution regards as preferable and is prepared to reward. There is also in the student role a sense of preparation, of separation, indeed of isolation from action and decision-making while the period of learning, of adjustment to a new self takes place. This isolation, now being so vigorously challenged by the militant, collectivized university student is embodied in the very architecture and setting of most formal institutions. Recently the growing accessibility of the city university has been deliberately challenged by the enclosed, unitary, seminary-like buildings of Simon Fraser University and Scarborough College. Even, or perhaps especially with the adult part-time student, who lives a real life between attendance at classes, the element of separation for the sake of preparation is apparent.

The student role then contains the following characteristics: it is dependent, individual, self-conscious, market-oriented in the sense of purchasing a service, and self-centred. It is also on the positive side made up of participation in a regular, repetitive, systematic series of activities, exposed to both public and private scrutiny. Both the scrutiny and the activities are designed and controlled by others who possess the power of inclusion or exclusion over the student. These characteristics are a mixture of a whole series of planned and unplanned developments, and obviously possess both advantages and disadvantages.

The member role is in its pure sense almost a complete contrast. It is present in all education (as we shall later describe), but in its purest form it can only exist where free choice of participation and association are possible. Thus for children the member role can only really occur outside of, or tangentially to formal education, which does not allow a free choice. For adults it occurs for the most part outside formal education, though increasingly it is converging towards it, and in some cases, such as in community development, a clear attempt is being made to incorporate its power within a developmental educational enterprise.

The member role occurs when adults associate in a group of any size in order to achieve a specific goal. The goal can be completely internal to the group of associates, such as providing an activity in which they engage to their own satisfaction, for example a chess club or a sports club of some kind; or it may be a goal which involves influencing the community at large, such as a charitable or political group. The association occurs because of a mutual agreement about the importance of the goal, but it also includes satisfactions in the association itself which may be personal, professional or of some other kind. It is of the greatest importance to understand the subtle balance that the group maintains between individual membership satisfactions and the pursuit of the stated goal. There is a whole field of social psychology devoted to understanding the nature of this balance and the factors involved in it. The learning element enters when the group as a whole or its leadership realizes that, in order to accomplish the stated goal, some special skills or some particular knowledge must be acquired by some or all of the group members. In more sophisticated groups, or large groups, these skills often turn out to be hierarchical in nature, related to positions in the group and the degree or length of participation. Sometimes the skills are as simple as learning how to conduct a meeting or understand a group in operation, sometimes they are as technical as learning how to deal with outside groups like legislative bodies, technical experts or whole communities. Sometimes a highly sophisticated group hires specialized assistance, such as a lawyer or an engineer, but even this act implies the need for some learning among the group members. The simplest and most important act from our point of view occurs when the group hires some specialist to teach all or some of its members how to perform certain functions or how to understand some complex problem.

The member role in learning now becomes clear. The member is neither dependent upon institutional authority nor particularly self-conscious about the engagement in learning. It is the collective goal that is important, not individual enhancement, and thus the learning is merely a means to a collective end. The member did not for the most part become a member to learn something of advantage to himself but to do something. The goal is both determined and to a degree described in detail by the group, and the teacher is hired to provide help towards that goal. If the teacher deviates too far from the member's perception of the means to that goal, either the group dismisses the teacher, or members begin to drift away from the group. The teacher carries with him the presumed authority of relevant knowledge and to a certain degree the authority of the institution from which he comes, but it is a fragile authority which must be proved and won repeatedly in intercourse with the group. The cash relationship exists between a group of learners and the individual teacher, rather than between institutionalized learners and the collective teachers entrenched in a large institution. This of course has its dangers but it does mean a reduction in the individualization and self-consciousness of the learner. While the actual teaching and learning may enhance these characteristics, the member generally does not see himself as an individual engaged in a selfish or personal undertaking but as a part of a group engaged in a collective social endeavour.

Finally the member is not, except temporarily, aware of a sense of preparation or isolation. The need for learning emerges from action and is part of it, however interesting the periods of teaching and experimentation in learning may be. The physical venue of this experience is almost always the learner's familiar action-bound setting—the union hall, the conference room, the community centre—and the teacher comes to him rather than he to the teacher. The member engages in real learning, but it is an experience seen as a means to a collective goal, undertaken by the choice of and in circumstances determined by the learner, and as part of the collective satisfaction of membership.

The distinction between these two approaches is fundamental, and provides an important lesson for any teacher or administrator who has engaged himself in the more chaotic regions of informal and formal adult education. The files of any adult educator are full of plausible, theoretical programs of education developed for groups, where the imposition of the student role began to conflict with the satisfaction and needs of members and the result was the complete failure of the program.

Finances

We have not dealt at all so far with the financial aspects of being an adult student. The reason we haven't is partly because it would be the simplest aspect to change if the society developed any real confidence in the potential of the adult student. Things have improved in recent years; income tax deduction, Manpower programs with living allowances and tuition fees, better intergovernmental arrangements, greater variety of courses, more access to counselling, more information better distributed (a whole issue in itself) have all improved the situation. Still, the cost to the student has increased, and many are simply being pushed out of any access to adult education. The man in the lower-middle income bracket (to say nothing of the women with their particular problems of interrupted phases of life) is being left out. There is almost no scholarship money available for adult part-time students, other than with Manpower regulations, and loans so freely available to conventional students seem to dry up for adults. These facts undoubtedly affect not only the sorts of people who are adult students in Canada but some of the quality of participation. It is an imbalance we can ill afford. The solution is quite simple. Canada must decide that the potential contribution to the community of the adult who has improved himself or herself is as great as the individual gain, and thereby accept the necessity of investing publicly in adult education. Expressed in terms of share of a Gross National Product, the demand will not be very great. Expressed in terms of survival, of course, as it must be, the choice is clear and inevitable. The problem is whether we make such a choice grudgingly, with a kind of step-by-step approach that never overtakes history, or whether we make some dramatic changes that will accept the adult student and open the world to him and him to us. Canada has demonstrated her capacity for such choices in the past. Whether we are capable now is another matter.

The Adult Student

The adult student is a new phenomenon in Canada. He and she have appeared in increasing numbers quietly but relentlessly in the past twenty years. But the appearance has been largely in the crevices, the spare parts of the society—after dark, in buildings not used for anything else, in systems designed for someone else. As one American put it, formal adult education is characterized generally by an unconventional and inconvenient time, an uncomfortable place, an irrelevant curriculum, an uninspired, if duly certified, teacher. Perhaps a harsher description than would be fair right now, but not too far from the truth. With about half of our population between the ages of 16 and 30 by 1972, the potential population for adult education will reach staggering proportions. Whether we do stagger or not depends upon our comprehension now and our decision. Some understanding of the adult student both on his or her own part, as well as on the part of the society, might contribute to our ability to make these decisions, or maybe just to help some adult students. Without denying the remarkable contributions made by some Canadian institutions in the past and now, what is apparent is that none of these are enough for the future. What is equally apparent is that the adult student of the future is likely to be both more numerous and less patient and forbearing than he has been in the past.

1 Sir Geoffrey Vickers, *Science Policy and Social Policy*, a paper presented at The Round Table, University of Toronto, March, 1969.

2 Allen Tough, *Why Adults Learn*, a report of a research project conducted in the Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968.

3. Harold F. Clark and Harold S. Sloan, *Classrooms in the Factories*, a report prepared for the New Jersey Institute of Research, Fairleigh Dickinson University, 1958.

(3) Factors Affecting Academic Achievement of Adult Students

PEGGY BEAGLE (1968)

Older and part-time students constitute an increasing and more significant part of the university community. Despite difficulties and discrimination, in spite of the low expectations about their academic performance held by faculty, and often by the students themselves, the record of attainment of older students is surprisingly and consistently high.

Increases in Adult Student Enrollment

One of the national trends noted in the most recent study prepared for the Economic Council of Canada is that while full-time university enrollment tripled from 1951-52 to 1967-68, part-time enrollment increased *twenty-three times*. The report of the Presidents' Research Committee stressed the fact that part-time enrollment was growing steadily and would continue to do so but that it was very difficult to project numbers with any degree of confidence due to rapidly changing conditions. Thus their 1966 projection of a maximum of 28,050 part-time students in Ontario in 1967-68 fell quite short of the actual enrollment of 31,020. In addition to these estimates, there is the prediction of Dr. D. T. Wright, Chairman of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, that by 1975 perhaps 50 percent or more of all students in university will be part-time. This major shift to part-time study, as one of the alternatives to escalating costs of higher education, was also cited in the Report of the Committee on University Affairs 1968-69.

There are additional factors, however, that may make these estimates rather conservative. While the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that part-time enrollment increased at a faster rate than full-time enrollment this was attributed to the fact that apparently a number of full-time students had changed their status to part-time students. However, this might also be accounted for by the increasing numbers of women enrolling in university. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics notes the trend in recent years for the increase in full-time enrollment of women to be higher than that for men (4.9 per cent for women to 2.6 per cent for men from 1967-68 to 1968-69). Along with this is the higher proportion of part-time women students to the total part-time enrollment than of full-time women students to the total full-time enrollment at both the undergraduate and graduate level.

Factors such as these could indicate that many more women are likely to want to get back into university work, and that many of them at least, will start their studies part-time. The trend has been for families to be completed at an earlier age. At the present time, the average woman has her last child at age twenty-eight or twenty-nine, which means that from the age of thirty-five on, for twenty or thirty years, women will have the opportunity of returning to a career or getting ready for a new one, all of which will require further education.

Another factor that can be expected to increase university enrollment is the role of the community colleges and the polytechnical institutes in making continuing education available for many who never expected to go on to higher studies. When the four-year courses were introduced into the high schools, and it was discovered that the course was terminal, the students would not accept this and insisted that there be a possibility of furthering their education. It is equally unlikely that community college graduates, who have developed an appetite for education, and who desire upward mobility, will accept their present courses as terminal.

Admission Policies

The selection procedures in Ontario universities are extremely varied and are constantly evolving. A recent survey (Pollock), grouped these procedures into four categories: interviews, pre-university courses, conditional admission to university, and aptitude tests. These selection devices are used singly or in any combination by each university surveyed. Serious flaws were pointed out for each method, for example the low correlation of a single Grade XIII credit with first-year university averages. The use of aptitude tests designed for regular secondary school applicants and used for screening adults was also questioned. The general dissatisfaction of admissions departments with the available selection devices is reflected in the following excerpts from the report:

> *... at present little is available to us in assessing the non-cognitive criteria ... some may stoutly defend the use of the present aptitude tests,* [*but*] *I think we do so because we are aware that they are better than nothing in assisting us in selecting "mature" students ... there is now little to assist us in the selection of "mature"*

> ***students and what we really rely on is our own judgement and common sense.***

The interview data support these comments. The departments concerned were well aware of the limitations in their selection procedures and indicated that a great deal of research is needed in this area.

Students reported difficulty in finding out about admission policies in many instances, one reason being that these policies are often not well publicized, and another is that they are constantly changing. This variation in policies means that it is difficult for students to move from one university to another.

The adult student may encounter other obstacles that block his entrance to university. These are the many restrictive policies, largely unpublished and unofficial, and of which the student is usually unaware. Some universities have restrictive quotas, some have age restrictions, while others have restrictions regarding admission to certain faculties. Various faculties within a university also may have their own age restrictions regardless of the university's stated policy. Some universities do not allow part-time students to attend classes during the day, even though this may be the most suitable time for the student. One university presently allowing this day-time attendance in very limited numbers stated that if the numbers of students applying presented a problem they would not be allowed to register. There are other discriminatory practices affecting part-time students. For example, one university's stated policy allows the full-time student two failures. In other words, the full-time student does not have to make up the two failures, he may graduate with only thirteen credits, whereas the part-time student is barred from the university after more than one failure. In this instance the policy is under review and a degree by credit approach is being studied.

Counseling

There appeared to be a great variation in the type and amount of counseling available. This ranged from an almost total lack of any kind of counseling to a few fairly adequate programs. While some universities thought their academic counseling to be sufficient, from the students' point of view it was ineffective because it was not geared to their needs. In particular, the students found no real help in career planning, or in relating their courses to possible careers. They perceived the academic counselors as having a very limited knowledge of, and little interest in, the relationship between the courses offered and future vocations. In fact many reported that their questions relating to employment opportunities in various fields appeared to indicate to academic counselors that the student's motives for attending university were somehow unworthy. By and large, students indicated that they received more assistance in planning courses from fellow students in upper years.

There appeared to be little help given the student in appraising his strengths and deficiencies so that he might develop. Aptitude tests seemed to be used mainly as screening devices, or as rationales for excluding students, rather than as diagnostic tools in course planning. Because of this, most students interviewed had a very negative attitude toward testing programs. This seemed to be a fairly general attitude among students and not limited to the adults.

Several faculty members interviewed saw the main problem of the adult student to be that of self-image. They felt that the adult student had difficulty in perceiving how he stood in relation to the regular student both academically and socially, and that he was often isolated both from faculty and other students. A suggestion was made for using student stewards to bridge this gap, especially in the larger universities. One small university had assigned all students to a supervisor of studies for their entire stay at the university. In addition to this, tutorial groups of not more than six persons seemed to provide the necessary contact between faculty and students. An informal type of counseling developed from these contacts and students did not appear to feel the lack of a formal counseling service.

Many universities were experimenting with some type of orientation program, ranging from a single "social" evening, or a day of special lectures, to practical courses of varying length prior to commencement of classes. In the latter case counseling was combined with assistance in study skills.

One university, with a fairly extensive counseling service for full-time students, pointed out that this service was not available for summer students or for "mature" students, although it was greatly needed. However, the counseling service in this university had organized a special orientation program for this neglected group. Student comment on this program indicated that it had provided them with a chance to talk and to share experiences with other adult students, and had assisted them in becoming integrated into the university. But they expressed disappointment that this was the only contact with the counselors available to them. The spokesman for this counseling service believed that one full-time counselor should be available for the up to 300 adult students, or failing that, the provision of a part-time counselor who would work a couple of evenings a week. A similar interest in part-time counseling was mentioned at other universities.

Most of the university personnel dealing with counseling were critical of the lack of funds provided for this necessary service. The data collected indicated great gaps in counseling facilities and pointed up the need for research in this important area.

Study Skills

From interviews with faculty it would appear that a great number of students arriving at university are deficient in study skills, particularly in the areas of research papers and oral presentations. Many professors also indicated that assistance in developing study skills was considered remedial education and therefore was not the function of a university.

Certainly, a great majority of the adult students interviewed had experienced difficulty in this area. Either they did not develop good study skills to begin with, or they had not kept them in practice, or they *thought* they lacked these skills and had regressed in their ability to learn. It appeared that one, or more, or a combination of these three factors were common to most adult students returning to formal education. In most universities visited it was found that little help was provided for students to polish up skills around the use of books, taking notes, oral presentations, writing examinations, library research, and the writing of term papers. Some of the universities made passing reference to study habits and skills during orientation programs, usually in the form of short lectures and suggested readings. Students preferred a more practical approach, such as reading laboratories to increase their reading speed and comprehension.

Almost without exception, interview data from students on all campuses indicated a need for assistance prior to, or early in, their university career, in the writing of term papers. This has become increasingly important of late as some universities have dispensed with examinations and students are evaluated on the basis of a number of term papers, or a combination of term papers and oral presentations. A majority of the students interviewed were of the opinion that lectures and suggested readings were not effective methods for developing study skills. Most first year English courses provided little practical help in the writing of term papers.

An interesting development in the Extension Department of the University of Toronto is the writing laboratory, open to any student who desires help in the preparation of term papers. The lab is open afternoons and evenings and is staffed by graduate students who provide assistance in the methods of organizing and researching term papers, and who will criticize work in progress. Many students newly arrived in Canada and experiencing language difficulties find the service very useful. Some students found that practical assistance in the preparation of one term paper was sufficient, others returned when they had specific problems. All reported gains in self-confidence which enabled them to work independently in a more effective fashion.

Study Facilities

Part-time students experience the most difficulty with study facilities. By and large, university policies and practices simply do not take the part-time student into account. For example, in one university students who attended classes in the evening reported that tutorials were not provided for them, but were provided for the day-time students.

Students were almost unanimous in their criticism of library facilities; in particular those students enrolled in courses off-campus found library services to be completely inadequate. In one off-campus location in Northwestern Ontario students reported making 300 mile trips to the neighbouring province to obtain books required for reading. The majority of part-time students interviewed criticized library regulations affecting loan periods and reserve use. These regulations are usually set up for full-time day students and penalize the part-time student who may have only one class a week. The inaccessibility of all university facilities at night, on Saturdays and Sundays, on holidays, and all summer, was found to be a source of difficulty for many adult students, with the library being most frequently mentioned.

Many students voiced the opinion that the present limited use of university resources was inefficient and costly. They were critical of tax money being expended on enlarging physical facilities which were not then utilized to the fullest extent. The consensus seemed to be that facilities provided by public tax money should not be operated in a manner which excluded the very people paying for them.

Financial Policies and Practices

Financial policies tend to restrict and make things difficult for the adult part-time student. They are organized not in his interest, but in ways which are against his interest. For example, a Brief of the Association of Part-time Undergraduate Degree Students of the University of Toronto to the Joint Sub-committee on Finance states: "There is no capital formula for part-time students and no student loans. It is not surprising that this second class treatment by the Provincial Government in turn influences the policy of the University towards its part-time students."

In a similar vein, the Atkinson College Association in a Brief to the Committee on University Affairs, criticized current financial policies:

> *The need to incorporate an allowance for part-time students in the interim capital formula or any final capital formula has been well documented and agreed upon. But what is required now is for continuing provision, on an equitable basis, to be made within a formula.*

Discrimination against the part-time student is also noted with regard to operating funds:

> *. . . the Provincial Government still requires that six full course registrations at Atkinson are necessary to receive one full-time equivalent, whereas only five full course registrations are required in the full-time programme. The Association wishes to go on record as strongly opposing the present method of calculating full-time equivalents on the basis that it is not equitable and that if the*

> *present method be continued, then the number used in the division of full course registrations should not be greater than five where Atkinson College is concerned.*

Regarding student aid, some rather strange paradoxes exist. The University of Toronto Extension Students' Brief points out that it is now possible to acquire a degree in three years through part-time study, by taking three courses in the winter and two in the summer. Therefore it is possible for a student to work full-time and yet obtain a degree in the same length of time it takes a full-time student. Yet the self-supporting, tax-paying, part-time student is accorded second-class treatment.

Students at another university called attention to the fact that on their campus it was possible to become eligible, as a full-time student, for the non-repayable grants and interest-free loans by paying for five courses but taking only four. His counterpart, the part-time student, often takes five courses during the same year, by way of evening, intersessional and summer classes. In this case he may graduate a year ahead of the full-time student and still be working full-time and supporting a family. However, he is not eligible to obtain even an interest-free loan to finance his studies. Some part-time students are able and willing to finance their further education with no assistance. For many others it is financially impossible. As Pollock points out: "many are seeking higher education in order to extricate themselves from a socio-economic cul de sac." These are matters of serious discrimination and concerned students on many campuses visited.

Adult students also indicated that discrimination existed in the awarding of scholarships and fellowships. Older students were rarely considered. The Atkinson College Students' Brief mentions that the majority of donors of scholarships and bursaries stipulate that recipients be full-time students only.

Many part-time women students, who were caring for children at home and thus unable to work to finance their further education, were extremely critical of present financial policies.

In general, part-time adult students appeared to be well aware that escalating educational costs add to their tax burden. In most cases they were not seeking non-repayable grants. In fact many older students were of the opinion that grants should be abolished. Rather, they believed that all students, regardless of whether they attended university full-time or part-time, day-time or evening, should be eligible for whatever repayable loans were necessary to finance their education.

Many of the interview data lend support to the charge made in the Atkinson College Association Brief that

> *Part-time students work, study, pay taxes, vote and do not demonstrate. The result: an almost complete lack of recognition of the contribution they make, and an almost total indifference to their needs.*

(4) Personal Experiences

Three adult learners report on their adventures in part time education.

An Addict to Learning

R. L. O'BRIEN (1969)

When I dropped in on George last week, he was sitting on his living room floor surrounded by pamphlets and folders. These are the tough days.

Q: What's it going to be this year?

A: I've got it down to Breeding the Racehorse or Chinese for Beginners. I can't decide. Last year I took pottery but I don't want to follow that up. And the year before that it was modern dance with my wife. (Thoughtful pause). They say Chinese is the coming thing.

Q: How long have you been taking night-school courses?

A: This will be my tenth season.

Q: What got you started?

A: Greed, I guess. I figured that if I took some courses along the lines of my work, I'd get ahead more quickly. The boss was really impressed when he heard I was studying accounting and public speaking at night. Eight months later I flunked both of them.

Q: What did you take the next year?

A: Well I thought it might be a good idea—since I wasn't impressing my boss—to see if I could find a new career. That's what starts a lot of people into night courses.

Q: What careers did you think about?

A: Just about everything—raising chinchillas, hotel and restaurant management, Christmas tree farming, the fast food industry, computer science, carpentry, personal selling.

Q: Which course did you take?

A: Hotel and Restaurant Management. This really meant that I spent two hours every Tuesday night for a year learning to be a short-order cook. I thought maybe we'd buy a little restaurant-general store-gas station. You know the kind. Somehow though I just couldn't get the hang of cooking. Kept dropping the eggs on the floor because I wanted to learn the one-handed crack. Since I decided I wasn't going to start any new career, I've just been going for the fun of it.

Q: What are the people like who go to night school?

A: What are they like? They're people, that's all. Most of them just enjoy learning new things. Some of them are trying to find ways to earn more money. Some are lonely. My pottery class last year had 15 people in it—12 of them women. Some of them turned out nice pots, too. I've got a little ashtray around here that I could show you. It went a little funny in the kiln but I'm still proud of it.

Q: Have you ever thought of dropping out for a year and not taking a course?

A: No. As soon as Labor Day comes along, I need something to get interested in through the winter. Oh I do a little wood-working and lately I've been thinking about chess. But right now, in September, I always seem to pick up a paper or folders and there–right in front of me–is another new field. Something that I really want to study up on. It's exciting... like being a kid with a fresh start in the fall. All I need is the new pair of shiny shoes. My wife goes to a bridge club on Wednesdays, so I try for a course on either Tuesday or Thursday. That way I'm home for the hockey games on TV on Wednesdays and NFL football on Mondays.

Q: Do you keep up the interest after you take the course? What about modern dance?

A: Well I was never too keen on that one. But I admire a good public speaker, and I can still whip up a fair omelette on Sunday morning. I get a big kick out of browsing in pottery shops because I know how tough it is to turn out some of those big beauties.

Q: And this year, is it going to be horses or Chinese?

A: I think Breeding the Racehorse. Imagine going to school to learn something like that–and my company is going to pay half. That really kills me!

A Forty Year Old takes up Jazz

W. B. S. TRIMBLE (1964)

While I do have bad habits, I do not have any which would cause me any difficulty to give up. I stopped smoking seven years ago and so that experience is now stale. My recent attempts to learn how to play the trumpet however, throw more light on my learning problems than would any description of habit breaking in the usual sense.

For several years, I "entertained" the idea of taking up the trumpet. It was a vague idea that I did nothing about. On my fortieth birthday however, my wife and four children pooled their resources and gave me a shining new trumpet with five pre-paid lessons. The kaleidoscope of my living patterns had tipped.

On the way to my first lesson, I met Miss Fenwick, the head of the music school. Our meeting was pleasant enough but I felt I was being examined as a curiosity. Her other pupils are children. She took me through the room full of parents waiting for their children and introduced me to my teacher, Steve Richards. For twenty-five of the thirty minute lesson we got to know each other. In the last five minutes he told me about care of the instrument and gave me the name of a book to buy. It was a very pleasant half hour. I left under the questioning gazes of more parents in the waiting room.

I have been taking lessons for two years now and have learned a good deal about adult learning in general and my own learning in particular.

First of all, I learned that a forty-year-old who takes up the trumpet—jazz trumpet at that—needs a certain indifference to social pressure. "I want to practice my trumpet" is not a socially acceptable reason for a middle-aged person to give in refusing to do something else. I had some difficulty shedding other responsibilities in order to play the trumpet.

My first problem was Miss Pratt of the University Extension Department. I phoned her to tell her that in the coming academic year I no longer wanted to teach the students in the business certificate program. I hoped I would get away with a general explanation such as "too busy", but she seemed to require an explanation. Finally I had to come right out with it and say, "I am learning to play the trumpet". There was a long pause at the other end of the phone. There really was no appropriate reply. I have seen Miss Pratt several times since however, and I get the impression that she is approving of my endeavour in an amused sort of way. The first thing she asks me when I see her is how I am getting along?

Frank Beard of the Certified General Accountants was my next problem. He simply refused to believe that I was serious when I told him the reason for not teaching his accountants any more.

While I was teaching several nights a week, I had a very solid reason for not being on the committee of the local ratepayers' association or the home and school, etc.... It is now very difficult to keep the spare time which I arranged for trumpet playing. It is not considered "irresponsible" to refuse a community position because you have to teach night school. It is "irresponsible," however, to do so to practice a musical instrument.

My friends have not really been a problem. Most people I know think it is rather interesting and amusing that I should take up the trumpet. Some I think look on it as a rather harmless manifestation of the middle-aged frolic which I will grow out of. There has been nothing but encouragement and good natured kidding from the other members of the family. After all, they gave me the thing and in doing so became a party to the crime. I wonder if the C.A.A.E. might issue gift certificates on various cooperating educational institutions and promote these as birthday gifts between spouses. A good deal of family resistance might be eliminated.

I have also learned much about teaching from Steve Richards. He knows intuitively that "man must be taught as if you taught him not". For most of every lesson we talk. Sometimes I never get the instrument out of the case or the music book open. He never tells me how much to do for next day. He is never cutting or condescending or sarcastic. When I am completely frustrated with the thing, he is more therapist than teacher—if, indeed, there is any real distinction. He is a delightful person who loves music, his farm and his family. I hope he never reads books on the psychology of learning or becomes self-conscious about teaching.

I have learned something too about my own capacities for learning. For one thing, I have what is known as a "signalling" problem. Every time I want to turn a black spot on a page into a finger movement on a valve, I have to *think* about it. It has not become automatic and probably never will. This explains why I failed in my childhood attempts to learn the piano, piano accordion and guitar. Any instrument that requires signalling on several notes at once is just impossible. This explains too why I failed a typing course in my thirties. I cannot signal and there is nothing I can do about it except stay with a one-note-at-a-time instrument.

I have learned too that this kind of learning for a forty-year-old is much more difficult than for a younger person. Conceptual learning may be easier for the adult as his life experiences have given him more to work with in forming new concepts. My past experiences are of no use in learning an instrument. The youth who started at the same time I did and has his lesson immediately before me, has progressed much more quickly. One of my own children has learned an instrument of about equal difficulty with much less trouble. However, while I may take longer than a younger person, I am probably in less of a hurry.

At this point I am quite determined to master the instrument even if it takes me twenty years. Wilder Penfield's repeated encouragements make me wonder if perhaps this bit of "learning in the afternoon" might be the basis of a musical second career.

Adventures of a Fly-by-night Scholar.

TREVOR LAUTENS

The other day I remarked to an aquaintance that I had got a university degree entirely by means of part-time studies over 13 years.

My friend rose in great agitation, strode over, and vigorously shook my hand.

"Marvellous! Marvellous!" he said, a new look of respect filling his eyes, quickly drained of the Falstaffian bonhomie inspired by a fourth Scotch.

Now in this cynical age there is little enough respect for anything or anyone, especially me. So I accepted his reverence with an engaging modesty that I have craftily picked up along life's way, both on the street and in the sparser groves – I know no other – of academe. Perhaps he was only being polite. Perhaps he approached in a spirit of scientific inquiry (he is a university graduate himself) to see what a slow learner looks like up close. Perhaps he had too many Scotches.

In any event he was clearly ignorant of my course record, which reads like a list of bad vintages: 1955, English 1a6 at McMaster – a thin little wine; 1958, French 1a6 – a nasty bouquet; 1960, English 9 by correspondence from Queen's – badly corked (alas, some wines do not travel well); 1964, Economics 357 at UBC – very vinegary . . . and so on.

The whole caper, with its night courses, summer courses, correspondence courses, letters of permission and fuzzy bureaucracy, was not merely improbable; it would have been impossible, at least at UBC, where I understand you must serve at least one year full-time before they throw the bunting over you.

In pragmatic Ontario they are more tolerant of fly-by-night students. My home school, which faithfully kept score over these 13 years of instalment-plan learning, evidently thinks that the resulting shabbiness of scholarship is more or less balanced by the production of sheer good character that accrues from the exercise.

This might even be true. A certain patience is required. A stoicism. A tenacity. Or something.

During those years I was chiefly engaged in assaulting the newspaper business' glacial indifference to my talents, and grappling with the more homespun day-to-day problems. I gave my studies about my third-best shot. I have only admiration for those with a finer scale of values. I was too busy ingratiating myself with a series of city editors to do more than pluck the lower-hanging fruits of scholarship. Perhaps this was just as well; if I'd tried for the big ones at the top of the sun-drenched tree, my intellect probably would have melted like Icarus' wings.

On the other hand I confess to a feeling of moral superiority over most teachers who take the same route. They, after all, suffer along at least partly in hope of crass commercial gain ahead. They are not there to learn for the sake of learning, but to Upgrade Their Certificates, or something like that. This gives the enterprise an air of grubbiness, of Babbitry, that I warmly welcomed because it gave me someone to feel better than. (*Lots* of people to feel better than; I often felt intimidated by the sheer numbers of teachers taking extension courses.)

However, I conceded that gratification of my ego isn't everything, and quite apart from that aspect I found myself deploring their blatant anti-intellectualism. Now I am not often driven to defend intellectualism; I can barely spell the word, and am ignorant of its consequences. Intellectuals are quite capable, maybe too capable, of defending themselves, and need no help from mental apprentices with mail-order BA's like me.

But the anti-intellectualism of teachers is something else; a crystallized form of the more vaporous university-as-factory atmosphere that threatens universities everywhere, that would roll the whole education process into a gigantic omnibus course: Making It 4a6.

Very well, I am exaggerating again—and being quite unfair to the poor teachers, probably because the careerism of some of them is the main example to come into my narrow purview. I may also simply be envious. All that lovely extra money just for taking such-and-such courses! I, on the other hand, am worth exactly as much to my firm with a BA as without one, and thus agreeably yield to the temptation of believing that I undertook studies purely for love of squinting into dusty tomes, out of rapture for the smell of the lamp of learning, and so forth.

In fact my motives were mixed. Those courses in the dark of night and the heat of summer began as a diversion; became a mistress; ended up an obsession. For a time I aspired to the teaching life myself—there, that's the source of my malice toward teachers, a secret realization of shared guilt, like that between Lord Jim and Gentleman Brown.

But gradually my day-to-day work consumed me; like most of us, I am drowning in a mediocre success; in the later years my studies became agony, crushed into a dehumanizing schedule; finally the diploma, fluttering a step or two away, was nakedly sought for itself. Merely as proof—proof that I had passed by.

And yet I don't know. Last fall, the diploma snared and safely hanging on a wall in a distant place, I opened the paper and fell under the old lure. Winter classes at UBC starting again. Those magic, mouthwatering lists.

I enrolled. I cursed and sweated all winter, stayed up reading until curious hours, pieced out ragged essays. Marvellous, as my friend said? Or masochism. Perhaps the monk learns to love his hair shirt.

(5) Bank Letter Becomes Guide to Learning

How a self-educated editor transformed a bank newsletter into a learning guide—and a publishing success.

THE EDITOR OF *CONVERGENCE* INTERVIEWS JOHN HERON (1968)

What publication holds the all-time Canadian record for distribution?

What publication in Canada has never used advertising to increase its circulation, and never exploited sex or sensationalism, has never joined the clique of writers who seem determined to defame, belittle, and put down most of the institutions and values of society?

What Canadian publication seems to have had the greatest impact on teachers, industrial trainers, preachers, and speech-makers and has been a consistent guide to hundreds of thousands of self-divided learners?

The answer to all these questions is the same—THE ROYAL BANK MONTHLY LETTER.

The Letter of a Canadian bank is unique in the world—unique in volume with gross distribution that probably exceeds two hundred million, at least ten times the total Canadian population, unique as an example of business-education partnership, unique in its impact and outreach.

It all began simply enough. Sydney G. Dobson, the general manager and later president started it. He appointed a new author for the Bank letter, John Rutherford Heron, and gave him his head. The Bank had had a monthly letter since April 1920, written first by Graham Towers, in the days before he became Governor of the Bank of Canada and later by an economist, Dr. D. M. Marvin. The first sentence of that bank letter epitomizes the kind of publication it was for its first 23 years: "The fluctuations in the exchange rates during the past two months have been of a violence never before known." It was a good business letter, like several others of its kind.

The new author was no economist. In connection with his research post with the World Bank, Lester B. Pearson said that all of his life ambitions have been realized, now that he is with a professional baseball team and had become a banker. Heron is as unlike Pearson as can be, except for influence and the variety of careers he has had. Born in North Ireland, but coming as a youth to Canada, Heron had been soldier, student, minister, teacher in an Indian school, railwayman, newspaperman and editor, before he joined the Royal Bank. It is worth noting these steps in his career because his new post demanded and utilized all of his previous experience.

Under Heron, the *Monthly Letter* walked away from banking tradition. Instead of limiting itself to economic and banking problems, the *Letter* dealt with scores of different topics, but always topics that are crucial for the young people and men and women who constitute the Bank's staff and the Bank's customers. Instead of an economic review, it soon became the foremost regular "education" publication. That this is so was attested when the *Letter* received THE PRESIDENT'S AWARD, given by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, in 1956 which cites: "The Royal Bank Monthly Letter is almost a national institution. Never a technical treatise, it deals in an engaging way with most of the subjects, reading, the arts, health, good living, that interest people everywhere."

Of course plaudits and awards are no necessary index of influence. The towering distribution figures of the *Monthly Letter*, averaging 740,000 copies a month, does not tell the complete story either. The fascinating thing about the *Letter* is its readers, their number, which seems to far exceed the number of copies, their loyalty and their regularity, their range in status and age and geographical location. They are found all over the world. Some are corporation presidents; many are teachers, writers, lawyers, ministers, and priests; many are young people in schools or people studying on their own; thousands are just Canadian men and women with no special distinction except that they have kept alive a vital curiosity and interest in life. Any day of the week one is almost certain to see a quotation from a letter in an editorial or hear a reference to it on the radio, or in a sermon or a speech. In one celebrated exchange in the House of Commons when the Social Credit Member of Parliament, R. D. Blackmore began to quote the *Monthly Letter*—in support of his opinions, C. D. Howe cut him off by snapping, "We all read that!"

The formula of obtaining readers and influence through choosing topics that concern thousands of people seems simple enough. But the value of such an approach was not self-evident to the management of the

Royal Bank. Even after it became clear that there was a favourable reception, some Bank executives questioned whether the innovation should be continued. In one memorable experiment, in the second year of the new format, the *Letter* once more dealt with an economic question. Immediately public comment and correspondence wilted. Ever since the topics have been of general interest rather than "banking" subjects. In the Annual Meeting in 1948, Senator A. K. Hugesson, in moving a vote of thanks to Management said,

> *"I want to congratulate the officers of the Bank in general and those who are responsible in particular for the production of this wholly admirable* Monthly Letter *which we receive."*

Correspondence about the *Letter* in any year will gross ten thousand and a single letter may bring scores of comments, questions, commendations, suggestions for additional topics, names of new people who should receive the *Letter*, and, of course, some offers "to put the author straight." But while his readers may sometimes wish to argue with the author about his opinions, rarely, if ever, have they been able to catch him wrong in fact or spelling. John Heron has a conscience about accuracy of facts, interpretation and spelling. He once said, "There is nothing degrading in being accurate!" Which is somewhat reminiscent of the comment of the actor-author-producer Gratian Gelinas who said, "It is not a disaster if an artist can add and subtract!"

Selecting topics for the *Letters* is no casual armchair activity. Heron has a thick file of suggestions from business men and other readers, ideas about which he would like to write and subjects that need elucidation. His schedule for each year, subject to some modification if necessary, is already established and the notes for most of the *Letters* are already in his files.

He has a store of topics from his correspondence with readers and also because of prodigious effort and methodical filing. He is constantly seeking topics, in his reading, his talks with friends, his attendance at meetings and entertainment. In earlier years he travelled widely. For years he was a constant participant in meetings of the Joint Planning Commission of the Canadian Association for Adult Education where writers, broadcasters, film makers and educationists met to report to each other what was happening and what was needed in education. No suggestion he ever receives is ignored or forgotten. Nothing he reads, and he reads constantly, goes back onto his shelves before he makes some notes about the content, notes so well organized that he can quickly turn to the pages which interested him most when the need arises.

Heron has frequently introduced subjects not yet well known. He became something of an authority on conservation when little was known or talked about it except by experts to themselves. The *Letter* "The Relationship of Man and Nature" was given a citation from the Federation of Ontario's Field Naturalists. "A notable issue in the continuation of an outstanding series of publications in the field of conservation." Some early letters were about foreign countries, India for example, and about the Commonwealth. Many others were about the employee and the manager in business and how he might enlarge himself. He has written frequently about family life, and, when on entire *Letter* appeared on the subject of Women, (in the 1940's and not the 1960's) several newspapers and Charlotte Whitton commented with admiration and amusement about the courage of a Bank dealing with such a subject. Business men, clergymen, amateur philosophers from all over wrote to him in gratitude after the appearance of a letter on relaxations from tensions entitled "Let's Slow Down". The same *Letter* was reprinted many times in other journals and drew an amused editorial rejoinder from Wilson Craw, a former colleague of Heron's on the *Peterborough Examiner*. Concerning Heron's views on relaxation, Craw wrote, "He didn't talk that way when he was here. To his reporters his orders were: 'Miss your lunch, miss your dinner, miss everything, but get that story."

At least one *Letter* a year deals with youth, and in hundreds of schools and colleges these are distributed to members of graduating classes.

The *Letter* represents a very substantial investment in education and information which is given free, not sold, and which carries no advertising. However, the offices of the Royal Bank would scarcely have continued to pay the bills if they did not believe that there are tangible dividends for the country, for the economy and for the Royal Bank. This is a *Letter* that circulates freely into schools, churches and other places that rear barriers against propaganda and advertising. It is a *Letter* that instructs and teaches, it has been used in thousands of educational classes to train clerks and salesmen and managers. Once the Bank of Montreal reprinted a *Letter* "The Making of an Executive" in the Bank of Montreal staff magazine. In introducing the *Letter* the editor said,

> *"The appearance of a copy of the* Royal Bank Monthly Letter *may come as a surprise to our readers. However, we should point out that what is said is the important thing, and with this in mind we commend the contents of the* Letter *to your attention. We certainly do not suggest the lessening of the competitive spirit between ourselves and the Royal Bank; in fact we hope that our staff will benefit from the counsel with which the Royal Bank so kindly supplied us."*

For years the *Letter* has appeared in the same format, four printed pages of lettersize paper. But as early as the mid-forties individuals and organizations began to ask, not only for quantities of single copies to distribute to classes and conferences, but for collections of *Letters* on special themes. This has led to a remarkable secondary service, the gathering of a series of *Letters* around a single theme into a single publication and its distribution as a text or guide book. Now appearing in handsome pocket book form, the following themes have been published, in hundreds of thousands of copies: *The Communication of Ideas; Of Interest to Executives; Graduating into Life*; and *A Conspectus of Canada*.

The writer of this article has used such books as texts both in Canada and abroad, and so have hundreds of other teachers. There is a booklet on credit, several on conservation, and guidelines to bank managers. One publicity triumph was the colourful booklets introducing newcomers to Canada which were distributed in Europe or on boats and planes bringing immigrants to Canada.

Republishing of single *Letters* has also been frequent by schools and other businesses as well as the Bank itself.

When Heron was City Editor of the *Toronto Star*, and Editor of the *Star Weekly*, he never stood aside from controversy. One would anticipate that anything as large and successful as the *Monthly Letter* would attract many foes and be subject to sour attacks. Surprisingly, these have been infrequent. The *Letter* is edited so carefully that few can pounce gleefully upon it to point out factual errors. Whilst Heron feels deeply about many subjects, he rarely denounces or attacks others. For some his style has been too bland, and he quotes others much more than he expresses his own opinion. Such a manner brings him scorn from a few members of that plentiful crop of writers and broadcasters who are always prying into the murky corners, who believe that nothing is news unless someone is demeaned, who are openly hostile to anyone who displays enthusiasm or hope or patience with human frailty.

How does one explain the influence of the *Letter*? One clue is that most readers were first introduced to it when a friend gave them a copy. One rarely forgets such a beginning.

The *Letter* has impact because it *exists*, because it has brought information about important subjects when little other material was available. But, accessibility is not enough. A publication that was slovenly or overblown, inaccurate in fact or reeking of special pleading would never have won attention by business men or the scores of thousands of other people who read and use it. Every day we hear that "information is not enough", but without facts, honest, hard, even brutal facts, we are all prey of swindlers, magicians and adventurers. The *Letter* has continued to have countless readers because it tells them things that concern them and that they need to know.

The most significant fact about the *Letter* is that it is for learners, written by a man who is the epitome of the self-directed learner. When he was nearly seventy John Heron was interviewed about his unique plan of self-education.

Editor

You have had a number of careers during your life—you were a student missionary, a teacher, a newspaper reporter and editor as well as the editor of The Royal Bank Monthly Letter. I wonder how you went about learning how to handle these jobs, because most of them were jobs for which there wasn't any formal preparation.

Heron

No, I think I had a lot of nerve. I'd tackle anything. For example, when I left the mission field I was at odds with things as they were. I answered an advertisement in the Calgary Herald for a farm instructor. So I became a farm instructor although I knew nothing about farming. I went to a store on Fifth Avenue in Calgary, and bought myself a high school agriculture text book and that was all the training I had for that job.

Editor.

Many people have used the public library to prepare themselves–have you found this a useful means yourself?

John

I did in Peterborough when I began newspaper reporting for the first time. I haunted a library. I had a very good friend there, Mr. Delafost–he'd get out of bed in the middle of the night to go and find something for me if I needed it for a story.

Editor.

How did you get into the newspaper business?

Heron

Oh, that was amusing. When I was principal of an Indian boarding school in southern Alberta I formed a cadet corp of my boys. I got them uniforms from the mounties–old uniforms, and of course, my girls in the school were learning to sew, so they cut the uniforms down to fit the boys. I took the boys up to Calgary to a cadet camp where there were 74 Alberta corps and my boys walked off with a trophy for general efficiency and five silver cups for various activities. So we went back to the school and had a jamboree and I wrote a piece about it and sent it to the *Calgary Herald*. Well, to my gratification, they used it and to my surprise, at the end of the month along came a cheque and I told myself: "For Heaven's sake! where have I been all these years? You can get money for just writing!"

Later I corresponded with the *Calgary Herald* for a while and then I came east to where my father was in Peterborough, and got a job as cub-reporter in the *Peterborough Examiner* and about five years later I was managing editor of the *Examiner*. I met Harry Hindmarsh of the *Toronto Star* at a Canadian Press meeting and he invited me to go to the *Star*—so I went there as an assistant city editor. After ten years, I ended up as managing editor and associate editor of the *Star Weekly*. The Royal Bank decided they wanted me, so I came here.

Editor.

I remember you telling me once about a planned program of education that you carried out for yourself. You had a number of young men on your staff who had a good university education and I believe you set out to get one for yourself following your own plan.

Heron

Yes, at one time I had three Rhodes scholars on my staff. I was their City Editor and I had never been inside a university. Their conversation was extremely interesting but also somewhat intimidating. So I decided that I had better catch up with them the best way I could. So I wrote to every university in Canada and got their calendars and went through the calendars and picked out books representative of the courses in literature, the social sciences and humanities. Next I went around to second hand stores and bought the books. I formed a plan, which is the most cock-eyed plan you ever heard of for reading. I took the Dewey decimal classification and I read a book in the first classification, which is essays and then in another classification which is philosophy and then in a third classification which is religion, theology and so on, right through the ten classifications. I made a rule for myself—never to read two books in the same class in succession so that my mind was kept clear of concentrating on one book, one author, one subject.

Editor.

If you were going about this now would you follow a procedure somewhat like this?

Heron

As a matter of fact I have advocated it in a couple of my *Monthly Letters* where I was talking about reading. It is as good a system as I know. I had always had a liking for poetry. Poetry teaches you the use of synonyms and the niceties of words and so forth. So I put somewhat the same system to work with regard to poetry. I started at an author A and went right through to Z—I can't think of who was Z. Each night I took down a different book in alphabetical order as they were on my shelf, and read at least one poem in that book. There again I was avoiding becoming a one author fan.

Editor.

How long did you carry on this plan?

Heron

I started in 1932 and I followed it thoroughly until perhaps ten years ago when I was about fifty-five.

Editor.

And you're still reading very widely, I know that.

Heron

Oh yes, I love reading. I no longer always read with a purpose but I think that through reading with a purpose I got to like reading. Now I read because I like it.

The relationship between doing something with an objective and then finding the interest in the activity carrying on is a phenomenon that one also finds in other places. That is something that young people going into a secondary school don't know about. It hasn't been in their experience yet and the drudgery of the initial work sometimes upsets them.

Editor.

In addition to reading selectively—did you take any courses by correspondence?—Did you enrol in any courses?

Heron

Oh yes, I was a course addict. I began with the La Salle correspondence course, "American Law and Procedures". That was when I was on a reservation miles away from places and of course, in those days, there wasn't any telephone, or radio and few diversions. Then when I came down east I took the Pelmanism course. It was a mistake to call it a memory training course—it is really a course on living and a very good course. Then the Alexander Hamilton business course and the International School of Advertising. These courses were all designed to discipline me and to systematise my study because as you know, when you are reading following your own plan there is a lack of compulsion, but when you study a course you feel obligated—you have to keep up. The only course I took outside of correspondence, was a University of Toronto evening class; I took practical psychology, which is a fascinating subject.

Editor.

I suppose when you are finding your own course of reading there is a problem of assessing your progress—how did you solve this?

Heron

I think it took care of itself. In Peterborough when I was studying advertising I made up a course of lectures myself and gave them to interested young men in the YMCA.

Editor.

So the practical test of what you learned came through passing it on to someone else.

Heron

Yes, and in Toronto I also gave a course of sixteen lectures in the winter to reporters and any other workers on the *Star* who cared to come. I had an average attendance, one winter, of more than 80 at these lectures. Now that really tests what you know.

Editor.

You mentioned how you started in the newspaper business. Did you consciously set out to learn how to write or did it come through experience and practice?

Heron

Not the writing. I never had any feeling about my inability to express myself in writing. On the *Peterborough Examiner*, I learned about headlines and what newspapers believed makes news and things like that. When I was very little I remember I wrote an essay on a grandfather clock. When I handed it in, I saw three teachers over in a corner giggling over what I had written. I knew then that I could write, but the teachers didn't do anything about it. My argument today is that those teachers should have realized that here was a kid with some potential and should have encouraged me in my writing so that I didn't have to wait until I was 23 years of age before starting to write seriously.

The publication has been like the man. Deeply concerned about ideas and causes, a remarkable example of self-directed education, the teacher in him has found his classroom and the preacher in him, his pulpit. To do this the author has always been stubbornly himself, but he has walked away from personal publicity and made the *Letter* not just his voice, or the voice of the Bank, but of most of the people who have learned from it.

(6) Famous Men as Learners

Cyrus Eaton, and Wilder Penfield were internationally renowned in their own fields. They also made unique contributions to learning.

The Pugwash Conferences. How an Individual Program of Self-Learning led to the Development of a World Famous Institution.

CYRUS EATON (1969) interviewed by the Editor of *Convergence.*

Editor.

I wonder if I might start with a general question. You are known not only for your numerous careers, Mr. Eaton, but for the wide circle of friends you have among scientists, among businessmen, among trade union leaders, among artists, among sportsmen. Have you always maintained an association with many kinds of people?

Eaton.

Yes, I have. I have long followed the plan of continuing education with the idea that one is never too old to learn. All my life I have been trying to get and understand the point of view of people in all walks of life—industrialists, scientists, politicians, scholars, farmers.

Editor.

Your experience was not too common among your fellow businessmen, was it? Did other business leaders have associations that went beyond their own business circle?

Eaton.

Not too common, I guess. For myself, I've had a fairly active career in industry but I have always sought the company of scholars, poets, philosophers, and scientists, especially in vacation periods. Many years ago I decided that on my vacations I would not limit myself to contacts with the businessmen and industrialists that I was seeing every day, but that if I could arrange it, I would spend considerable time with professors and writers, historians and philosophers. I always found that a very delightful form of recreation and extremely valuable to me.

Editor.

They used to join you in your summer place in Nova Scotia, didn't they?

Eaton.

Yes, they visited me there and before I had a house they would join me on fishing expeditions. Sometimes I did this in the company of my uncle, Charles Eaton, a writer, scholar, and afterwards a politician. For many years he was Chairman of Foreign Relations in the Congress of the United States. Earlier he lived in Toronto and was pastor of what is now the Westminster Church. But to make a living Charles Eaton was also an editorial writer for the *Toronto Globe* and was Canadian correspondent both for the London *Times* and the *New York Sun*. One year on a fishing vacation trip, we invited the President of McMaster University, the President of Acadia University, and the President of Colgate University. I cite that as an example of the kind of company I would select on a holiday both to give us pleasure and take me completely away from the business world. It was relaxing but, at the same time, kept me in touch with men who had an interest in the intellectual side of life.

Editor.

It was in 1954 that you formally announced that you were going to hold conferences at Pugwash in Nova Scotia. Where did the idea come from and how did you start?

Eaton.

Let's go back a bit. As early as 1949 we had as our guests the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of the British Commonwealth. They met in conference that year and came to Nova Scotia as my guests.

Editor.

Did the Vice-Chancellors come to talk together about university affairs or for a social time?

Eaton.

They had problems relating to the British Commonwealth universities which they wished to discuss informally as well as in plenary meetings. So they combined their conversations with the freedom and friendliness which come from being in one's own home. The Vice-Chancellors were men with very different points of view. Some had come from India and Pakistan, then in conflict. We had to put two Vice-Chancellors in each room, and so we couldn't put them together. We also had the Rector of Laval, whom we put with the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. But we soon discovered that even when you have men who are bitter rivals, if they all sit down together they may discover that they are all human beings and that they all have good qualities. This meeting turned out to be a very congenial and happy meeting of people that under some circumstances might have been opponents or enemies. This led to some meeting of minds and some compromising of the differences that they had concerning university and government.

Editor.

Not all your visitors come in groups, I suppose.

Eaton.

No, some friends came each year to spend some time with me. A regular visitor was John Dewey. He paid his first visit to me in 1929 and he visited me every summer for as long as he lived. When John Dewey would be there I would try to have a guest with a different outlook on life and on education. One man I had frequently was Sir Joseph Chisholm, an ardent Catholic.

Editor.

It is clear that you have been bringing together people with different points of view and different interests for many years. When did your own interest in science and scientists begin?

Eaton.

It started very early in my life. Whenever I could I would get people together to discuss scientific and philosophical questions. My intellectual inspirers were Huxley, Darwin, Kendall, Spencer. When I was at the University of Toronto, Goldwyn Smith was a great attraction to men of liberal tendencies in their thinking and from those days on I have had a great pleasure and profit both out of reading and out of association with men of scholarly interests.

Editor.

These ideas and these interests would not always have coincided with those of Baptist theologians of the times?

Eaton.

Yes, and no. There are many traditions in the Baptist Church, some of them being liberal. A great Baptist leader in America was Roger Williams, a decidedly liberal man. They expelled him from Massachusetts because he would not accept the theology of the church and he went over to Providence to found a new colony. There are at least fifty varieties of Baptists in the States. They range from the agnostics to the extreme fundamentalists.

Editor.

Was McMaster University considered liberal when you were there?

Eaton.

It is quite liberal now. In my day it was both liberal and conservative. Quite early in my life I became associated with, and eventually became a trustee of, the University of Chicago which was Baptist. I helped in the original foundation of the University of Chicago; they required a majority of the trustees to be Baptists, and I persuaded the Baptist Convention of North America to remove the stipulation of the University that a majority of the trustees must be Baptists. I used to come to the United States for my vacations. I worked for Mr. John Rockefeller, Sr. President Harper of the University of Chicago was his guest every summer and it was my job to look after President Harper and his son Sam. He is one of my closest friends and wrote an important book on Russia. Starting at age nineteen, he spent the next forty years of his life six months in Russia, and six months in the Department of Russian Language at the University of Chicago. He remained a bachelor all his life (which was a mistake) but he gave a good time socially for the children of Russia. He became very fond of the youngsters, their music, and their art. During these years the University of Chicago became a very liberal institution. John Dewey was a professor there; Bertrand Russell was there briefly. There were all varieties of thought. What I consider to be the most important book ever written on the Christian religion was published at this time by Professor Foster, who had been professor of philosophy at McMaster until he went to Chicago. His book is the *Finality of the Christian Religion*, and it is very liberal. It was written in Chicago and of course it created pandemonium in religious circles, not only among Baptists but among all because it questioned a great many of the established beliefs. President Harper of course was an extraordinary scholar. He got his B.A. at thirteen, and his Ph.D. from Yale at eighteen. Harper died very young.

Editor.

I first came across the name of Harper in association with Chautauqua. Harper founded the educational work there; the first correspondence studies and the first university summer schools and the first book clubs were all associated with Harper at Chautauqua.
Chatauqua.

Eaton.

Mr. Rockefeller used to be a bit of a joker and he said to me once in the presence of Dr. Harper, "I am giving you the privilege of associating with a man of very great learning.... Most people have to pay a high tuition fee. And instead of your paying the tuition fee I am paying you!" I am sure you see how these events connected with the University of Chicago led to an association with scientists, philosophers, historians, and scholars which has continued ever since. I have greatly enjoyed these contacts as a diversion from the hard task of industry, as well as an education for myself.

Editor.

Why did you choose to go to Pugwash for the meetings of scientists and other intellectual leaders?

Eaton.

That's where I was born.

Editor.

Having been there I know how beautiful it is, but I expect there were other reasons as well.

Eaton.

A number of years ago most of the town of Pugwash was destroyed by fire and was in a very bad economic state and needed some help. I had acquired the old Eaton homestead and had it fixed up and we began having summer gatherings of various kinds. One year we had a number of university men, philosophers, and scientists to talk together about common interests. Another year a similar group of men talked together about a crisis in the Near East and what should be done about it. Later, at a critical time in the cold war, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein agreed that a meeting should be attempted between scientists from all parts of the world. Russell and Einstein appealed to me to finance the meeting. Indian statesmen had said they would be glad to welcome such a conference but it was not possible for India to finance it. I said that I would do it as long as we could meet in Pugwash. We could not meet in the United States because the Government would not permit communists. The question was, would the Canadian Government allow these communists to come in? I appealed to the Canadian Government. The first reply was that it would be very helpful to have scientists come to Canada from many parts of the world but I was asked if we were inviting any communists. I replied that that was exactly what we planned to do. They asked me whether I thought such representation was desirable and I indicated that they were the very people we needed to get to know....

Editor.

Had you already been in touch with Chairman Khruschev by then or did that come later?

Eaton.

I met Khruschev later. But I had met many Russian people before. At one time many Russian Baptists were coming to see Mr. Rockefeller, Sr. and he gave me the job of looking after them. My Uncle Charles was one of the five Americans in the delegation which set up the United Nations in San Francisco and I was also in touch with the Russians there. I have known the Russian Ambassadors in the United States quite well. This helped, of course, when I was inviting Russian scientists to come to the first conference. Of course there were plenty of difficulties at first. Some American scientists said that they didn't want to meet with the Russian scientists because the latter were just trying to find out our secrets. The Russian scientists said that they didn't want to go to such a meeting if it was under the auspices of America because it would be used for propaganda purposes. So we had difficulties getting the American scientists and the Soviet scientists to come. But on the second day of the conference one of the leading American scientists came to me and said, "We don't need to be worried about these people getting our secrets; they already know as much as we do."

Editor.

Did you have difficulty in getting people to attend from other parts of the world? I believe in the first year you had a Chinese scientist.

Eaton.

We only had difficulty, really, with the Soviets and the Americans. At that time our relations with China were friendly and they instantly sent one of their top men.

Editor.

The selection of people for these conferences must have been a very interesting problem. How did this come about?

Eaton.

Well, as soon as we got some of the American scientists to say that they would go we sought their judgment as to the leading authority in the respective countries in the nuclear field, and most of the suggested scientists gladly came. Even Japanese scientists, who knew the effect of the bomb, were keen to come.

Editor.

You must have established an atmosphere that allowed men to talk well to each other. *Were there any tensions at the beginning, or did they* speak freely?

Eaton.

The first two or three days at Pugwash were difficult because of the mutual suspicion. But soon the Russians discovered friendship on all sides and after two or three days of dining and living together there was a complete change for everyone. The Russian scientists could speak a little English, but not very much and used an interpreter. The scientists from most of the other countries spoke English well, even the Chinese and Japanese, and people from Hungary and France.

Editor.

Did any of the other scientists speak Russian?

Eaton.

One of the Americans spoke Russian pretty well—the editor of the *Nuclear Scientists*.

Editor.

Did they converse freely at dinner?

Eaton.

Everyone got friendly, dining together, having sessions together, playing croquet, walking together. It was a simple community. The spirit of suspicion and distrust so noticeable at the beginning soon disappeared. They all felt that they were a group of men who recognized the common hazards to humanity and that they ought to do something to stop them. A scientist from France made a speech at the end of it; and said that there were certain small communities that would be known to dominate history because of important events that had occurred in them. He named three: Austerlitz, Waterloo, and Pugwash!

Editor.

The scientists themselves advocated that this kind of meeting be continued—that there ought be be a second Pugwash Conference?

Eaton.

Yes, they recognized and were unanimous that they must go on.

Editor.

For that particular period in the cold war, to get such unanimity was a great achievement.

Eaton.

Yes. In the next years we were really on our way to world understanding until a very great disaster happened and it shows how much chance there is in human affairs. I mean the U-2 episode. You will remember that Eisenhower was to visit Russia. If the Paris talks had gone forward (and they would have but for the U-2), Eisenhower would have been accepted in Russia as a great war hero because he was fighting on their side in the big war. The whole picture would have been changed because of that action.

Editor.

Your own personal intervention that summer helped considerably, I believe, in reducing some of the tension. At least we were told so by Russian people at the World Conference on Adult Education in 1960.

Eaton.

Well, we tried to help the Russians understand that not everyone in America was at the back of the U.S. blunder, that there were responsible people in the business world at least. I think we did have some effect on Russian scientists and statesmen.

Editor.

I'm interested in this notion of getting human beings together under human conditions. This is what is lacking so often in great international meetings. The representatives can't be human together. They feel obliged to combat each other as partisans. I believe that Pugwash has been a valuable contribution to international exchange, setting up the conditions where human beings can be themselves, not just partisan antagonists.

Eaton.

Yes, the effect that it has had on the Russian government and on the governments of all the Communist countries was profound. It was more effective than the impact on the United States because we were at that time so saturated by anti-communist feeling that it was hard to do much with the people in Washington, because they thought their election depended on a vociferous denunciation of communism. It affected many segments of America.

Editor.

I believe you have had other kinds of meetings at Pugwash. The press referred to some of these as "The Thinkers' Conferences."

Eaton.

Yes, at the first one we had Julian Huxley, some philosophers from Princeton, and men from other universities.

Editor.

Do you see this kind of conference as being of use?

Eaton.

I think many more of them ought to happen. Not with great assemblies but with people of goodwill who would like to see better relations. People in various countries who are sincere and who can discuss problems of mutual interest. That's no longer difficult, as you can get from anywhere to anywhere in just a few hours. It's a different world now. There are people from Japan and Thailand and Poland who would be interested and would take pleasure in this. The setting should be where people can meet on a human footing around interests which really are common. Most people are interested in the future of the world for their children and their grandchildren.

Editor.

Will you be continuing your programs at the Pugwash site itself?

Eaton.

I think so. We are hoping to do this.

Editor.

It's given a name to a particular kind of international meeting as well as to the series of scientific conferences.

Eaton.

The name of Pugwash is now known in every part of the world but not many people know where it originated. The reports go to some 125 nations. The conferences could have happened at Athens or New Delhi, but it happened to be Pugwash. I like to feel that it is appropriate for Canada to bring statesmen and scholars of the world together.

Editor.

Do you know that next year is International Education Year, as declared by the United Nations? We want, if we may, to pass on your words in our journal *Convergence* to people in other countries.

Eaton.

You have a very great idea to which all of you have dedicated your life, and that is adult education. In my own case I always found great pleasure in reading the great books. If a man wants to read and study his own calling, whether he's a farmer or railroad operator, he ought to do that—there's no question about it, he ought to read a lot about his work. But for sheer enjoyment in life, he also has contact with the great minds of the present and the past, with the great literatures. You have it in every language whether French, German, Italian, English Spanish—it's all there waiting for you.

Editor.

Is there anything further that you can say about how people can carry on the Pugwash idea?

Eaton.

We ought to have one in every town—a place people will set aside for the improvement of the mind.

Edward Annand Corbett Learner: Educator

G. C. ANDREW (1967)

The development of E. A. Corbett and his influence on Canadian adult education. The author sees Corbett's influence as more important for the future than the past with particular reference to the role of adult education in public issues

Over the last two weeks, I have re-scanned or re-read all of Ned Corbett's published works, partly to remind myself what it was that moved Ned Corbett to become an educator, partly for pleasure, but chiefly to see what he said about education in general and adult education in particular.

Of his four sketches of men, *McQueen* reminded me how much some aspects of the spirit of Presbyterianism meant to him even after he had rejected it as a creed; *Tory* and *Sydney Smith* reflect his enjoyment of men with large appetites for living, for power, but most of all for the enjoyment of their fellow creatures; and *Father, God Bless Him* is a Canadian Scottish fairy-tale fashioned out of the real toughness of an itinerant Presbyterian upbringing.

We Have With Us Tonight is by far the most revealing of his attitudes —his philosophy—of life and education. I had enjoyed reading it when it was first published, but was misled, as I have been before, by the gaiety of Ned's presentation, and had missed something of its purpose. It is in a very real sense his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* and I intended to read some extracts to illustrate his philosophy of life and education before going on to offer some comments of my own.

He came into adult education by the side door and he remained in one sense unsure, not of his vocation but of his personal suitability. He was, in his own phrase, a 'stickit minister'—in this case a man who had rejected what he called the 'pagan concepts' of the Westminster Confession of Faith, but who remained uncertain whether he had done the rejecting or had been rejected not by his lack of faith, but by his lack of what he regarded as essential qualities for ministry.

"All this," he says, speaking of his struggles in the matter of faith, "was very unsettling, but my main difficulty, I think, was that I had always believed that a minister of the gospel ought to have some, at least, of the attributes of Sainthood, and I was beginning to realize that I had none. One of my senior colleagues in the Theological College with whom I discussed my problem analyzed it quite simply. He said, 'My boy, you have never been converted.' And I am inclined to think he was right.

"I came back from World War I, convinced that I was not fitted either in temperament or in conviction to continue as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. But I also knew that I wanted above all to work with people. After all, I had descended from a long line of parsons, and the urge to help make the world a better place to live in was bred in my bones. The job offered me at the University of Alberta in 1920 seemed to be the kind of opportunity I was looking for.

"I suppose the desire to see people and situations change and grow is the motive which leads most men and women into education, welfare work, the church, and other altruistic endeavours. It is certainly not the love of money. In adult education I have found an outlet for whatever gifts of heart and mind God and my ancestors gave me. If I have a working philosophy of adult education it is based on the conviction that the desire for knowledge is a normal human appetite and that the capacity to acquire knowledge continues throughout life. I also know from long experience that through study, discussion and planning together people can change their social and economic environment and in so doing change themselves.

"Hundreds of articles have been written defining the goals of adult education. Many of them are clothed in such incomprehensible jargon that the average individual, if he bothers to read them at all, understands little of what they have to say. Actually the objectives of adult education like any other set of ideas having to do with human behaviour can be expressed in the simplest language.

"Some years ago, Dr. M. M. Coady of St. Francis Xavier University and I collaborated in producing what seemed to us at the time a fairly adequate statement of the objectives of adult education. I write these down here for what they are worth.

"(a) That the individual, his rights, his moral and spiritual significance is of supreme importance in a democracy.

"(b) That social progress can only come about through improvement in the quality of human beings, and that improvement can only come through education.

"(c) That adult education must suit its efforts to the intimate interest of the individual or the group, and in most instances these interests are economic.

"(d) That adult education functions most effectively through group study and group action.

"(e) That the ultimate objective of all education, particularly adult education, is the development of the individual's capacity to live a fuller and more abundant life.

"(f) That education, like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority."

"In E. M. Forster's book, *Two Cheers for Democracy*, there is an essay called "What I Believe," and in it the author makes this statement. I take the liberty of quoting it here as an expression of my own belief.

" 'I believe in aristocracy—not an aristocracy of power, based upon rank and influence, but an aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate and the plucky. Its members are found in all nations and classes and through all ages, and there is a secret understanding between them when they meet. They represent the true human tradition, the one permanent victory of our queer race over cruelty and chaos.'"

Just before this he says something which seems to me close to the core of his belief.

"In Conrad's *Lord Jim*, Marlow, the narrator of the story, makes a remark in passing, which I have always cherished as of profound significance. 'It is when we try to grapple with another man's intimate needs that we perceive how incomprehensible, wavering and misty are the beings that share with us the sight of the stars and the warmth of the sun.'

"I suppose it is because I share that sentiment that I have always felt that academic training alone can never make an acceptable worker in the field of adult education. Unless in addition to his formal education, he has an enormous liking for and understanding of all sorts and conditions of men, he had better find his vocation elsewhere."

One has only to look at the table of contents of *We Have With Us Tonight* to see Ned's belief in the things he worked for and believed in, his pride in what he had been allowed to accomplish, his joy in the companionship it had brought him and also that self-deprecatory humour which denied to himself what it claimed for others.

The chapter headings in his book are an accurate reflection of the make-up of a Corbett speech or presentation—self-depreciation, stories, entertainment, love of people, particularly amateurs with courage, humour and style, belief that education exists first and foremost (almost and hindmost) to help people to live most effectively, recognizing always that they cannot live effectively at all if they have not an adequate level of subsistence, an equal belief that educators must have a program not just a theory—and that that program must relate knowledge to action, action that involves participant citizenship, the little man being given the tools to work out his own salvation.

In his own words: "There is a new spirit of confidence and belief in the capacity of ordinary working people to think and plan and finally to achieve their own social and economic betterment."

And now to the job of directing the CAAE. Here is how he saw it.

"A major problem of the CAAE in its early days was to find the best way in which to supplement the adult education activities of the universities, the Provincial departments of education and agriculture, and our affiliated voluntary organizations. The primary function of the Canadian Association for Adult Education as set forth in the charter was to serve as a clearing-house and co-ordinating agency. But it became apparent at once *that we needed a national program of our own if we were to become well enough known to command the attention and support of the public we were supposed to serve.*"

He quotes Father Jimmy Tompkins:

" 'It's the people who make giants. Give them ideas and they'll blow the roof off! Get knowledge and nothing can stop you.' "

And yet another passage, partly because it's pure Corbett and partly for a reason I shall come to soon.

"I have always been interested in what might be called 'the hotel room interpretation of Canadian enterprise.' In almost every undertaking in which I have been involved, preliminary plans have been worked out with a small group of interested people in a hotel room somewhere in Canada. This was inevitable in my case, because, for the first ten years of my term as Director of the CAAE, a large part of my life was spent in hotels from Charlottetown, P.E.I., to Vancouver, B.C. Very often my only opportunity to discuss our plans with Provincial colleagues was to invite them to spend an evening with me in my hotel room. I suspect that the same is true of a great many national organizations in Canada. It was perhaps natural, therefore, that the preliminary steps leading up to the establishment of the National Farm Radio Forum should have taken place in a hotel room."

It is interesting to find many of these ideas expounded in embryonic form in a pamphlet entitled *University Extension in Canada*, published in 1952. *We Have With Us Tonight* came five years later.

Ned Corbett was neither a scholar nor a philosopher in the technical sense of the word. He was a man of affairs who learned from the human situations he confronted. He was hypersensitive—sensitive to the needs of others—acutely sensitive to short-comings in himself. One of the things in his life which gives me great personal pleasure is to follow the development of the relationship between Corbett and the Antigonishers—Father Jimmy, Father Coady and A. B. MacDonald. It must have been quite a mutual searching out before the instinctive Presbyterian and the worker priest, Father Jimmy, took each other's measure. Corbett records it in customary self-deprecatory terms.

"I was to meet him (Tompkins) again many times, and spend long hours with him before he died in 1962. But now, at this conference at St. F.X. only a few weeks after I had met him at the University of Maine, I could see that he was still looking me over and searching for a judgement. When my turn came to address the conference, Father Jimmy, Dr. M. M. Coady and A. B. MacDonald, the three great leaders of the St. F.X. movement, sat in front of me.

"I suppose there were six or seven hundred people in that hall, but those three were the only people I saw. I was terrified. In a way it was like 'preaching for a call' in a Presbyterian church. I not only wanted, I needed the approval and respect of these men and their associates. Somehow I got through that speech. It was lunch time and when I finished my talk everyone turned his back and made for the nearest exit. I slipped out a side entrance and made my way towards the dining-room. I was sure I had been a complete failure. I had forgotten that in the Maritime Provinces people don't rush up to a speaker the moment he is through talking, grasp him warmly by the hand and say, 'That was a *real* treat.' Usually they just file quietly out of the building and say nothing at all. Of course, if a man happened to have been born in the Maritimes and was fairly well known, one or two people might wait for him outside the door and say, 'Yon was a grand text ye had; too bad ye didna make a sermon out of it,' but that would be about all.

"But on this occasion I received an accolade I could never afterwards forget. Just as I was entering the dining-hall, Dr. Coady caught up to me. He put his arm around my shoulders and, leaning over from his great height, he said, 'Father Jimmy thinks ye'll do.'"

So much for what Corbett was.

What did he do?

He gives credit to Ottewill for starting the Extension Department of the

University of Alberta, but he developed a program known the length and breadth of North America.

He gives great credit to Donald Cameron for developing the Banff School but it was he who felt the need and started and operated it for three years.

He likewise gives great credit to Roby Kidd as his successor in the direction of the CAAE, but he started it, gave it a program of its own with the Farm Forum and the Citizens' Forum and also gave it the Joint Planning Commission for the coordination of Canada-wide programs, and he developed assured financial support for the work of such a national agency.

This is a good life's work—and if that were all, we would have cause enough to honour him.

But that was not all.

As a result of re-reading *We Have With Us Tonight*—I have rediscovered Ned Corbett—and will share the blame with Ned's self-deprecation for not having done it fully before.

Ned Corbett was the genius who welded all us educators, adult educators, media men and even bankers into a Canadian adult education network, conscious of our role in nation-building. He did it by introducing us all to one another, by paying tribute generously to the work each was doing, by encouraging each of us to think that the network was in part—or largely—ours, by humouring the prima donnas and encouraging the modest, but most of all by recognizing with a poet's eye what gifts each brought.

Corbett did in the field of citizenship what Howe did in the field of industry. He created a very lively national educational community and the network he created gave an outlet for the strong sense of national identity and national purpose which the war years had generated. He did it by recruiting such diverse characters as Gordon Shrum, George Ferguson, John Grierson, Brooke Claxton, Neil Morrison, Alex Sim, James Muir, Father Coady, George Grant and Roby Kidd and a host of others —many here tonight—to his team even though some may have thought it was their team. He did it—in a sense as John A. did his stint of nation-building—by being human, accommodating, cajoling, flexible, and also—by encouraging us to serve his vision.

I want to underline Ned Corbett's use of "the hotel room interpretation of Canadian enterprise". In hotel rooms from Newfoundland to British Columbia, over a period of ten years, he personally, slowly fashioned Canada's first national educational purposes. In doing these things he enabled Canadians from sea to sea to find many common purposes and thus enormously enhanced our sense of nationhood.

And now I would like to turn from his accomplishments in his day and generation to consider the validity of his educational principles and their applicability today. And perhaps to add some observations of my own.

First, I subscribe to Corbett's basic belief about education. I think education exists, in the first instance, to help people live as fully and effectively as nature endowed them. I believe that the full life starts with —if not a full belly—at least one adequately filled to generate energy. Second, I believe with Corbett (who borrowed it from Father Jimmy) that it is people who create giants. I go further. Giants are just remarkable people (big or little in the world's estimation) seen through Corbett's or another poetic and discerning eye. In my own experience I have known creative people—giants—some recognized, some not—some who operate in a big area, some in a little—but all who operate with distinction. One who created beauty with gardens along a desolate N.S. shore; another whose imagination in siting commercial overnight cabins created a haven of rest and a place of real delight; another still whose hospitality in a lonely place created a legend; and still others who represent to me classic Canadian myths. Name them—Ole Anderson, Archie Cargill, Rob McArel.

These people belong among Corbett's elect.

They are the democracy—or the aristocracy—we educate for—and struggle for.

I believe that people can triumph by what they are—as well as by what they do—but I am enough of a puritan—with Corbett—to believe that to be significant you must arrive at what you are by struggle, not just indulgence.

I believe, therefore, that education—formal and informal, youthful and adult—must recognize that education for living and education for earning a living are not separate things, but only reverse and obverse sides of the same coin.

I believe that education, including adult education, has two primary purposes:

1) to help people develop their fullest individual and wage-earning capacities;
2) to help people live fully in their social context as citizens of all the communities they belong to—local, regional, national, international.

To these ends, adult educators need to know as much as there is to know about motivations, methods of teaching and the processes of learning. They also need to know more than any of us now know about the uses of the media in relation to both teaching and learning.

In any given country they need to know how geography, climate, language and cultural diversity aid or hinder the educational processes.

In Canada, in particular at the national level, the Canadian Association for Adult Education must recognize more acutely than even in Corbett's day that any voluntary society which wishes to call itself either Canadian or National must provide its services in two languages—English and French—because the potential—if not actual—consumers of Canada-wide services use and will continue to use those two languages.

In addition we must recognize that in Canada, provincialism and regionalism are—if not more natural than Canadianism—at least easier, and therefore Canadianism must be fostered consciously and programmatically.

It was a sure instinct which prompted Corbett to feel the need for and invent the Farm Radio Forum and the Citizens' Forum as essential to span Candian geography and knit our cultural diversity.

I will go farther. I think that we adult educators in recent years have failed to recognize the continuing elementary need to help create a unified society out of 4,000 miles of magnificent but still raw geography, ten provinces with differing traditions and aspirations, five regions with varying economic interests and social composition, two basic language groups and a multitude of ethnic entities.

We have in my opinion tended to become too exclusively occupied with our own professionalism, and too exclusively absorbed with the continuing education of professional and quasi-professional groups. These are both very proper concerns of adult educators but we have relatively neglected adequate attention to the persistent but elementary problems of the Canadian society. As a consequence communication has broken down or not been adequately maintained between the provinces, the regions and the language and cultural groups in the light of changing circumstances.

Of course, I don't want to give the whole blame to ourselves, the adult educators, for the boom in provincialism, for all the separatisms and for the lack of determinacy in national objectives, but I am willing to take a good deal of the blame.

We forgot that Canada (more than the provinces and the regions) needs programming. We forgot that people 4,000, 3,000, 2,000 or 1,000 miles apart need to be provided with opportunities for opinion exchange, confrontation, interchange and interpretation. We thought that improving the professional competence of municipal and provincial officials, correction officers, and adult educators (good and important as these functions are) needed more emphasis than attempting to see that Canadian citizens continued alert to the upcoming problems of the Canadian federation.

The Joint Planning Commission was designed to be the place where the most urgent problems of the Canadian society should be discussed in order that the adult educators and the media men—representatives of the CBC, private stations and the National Film Board—could see how best they could relate themselves to those problems, and in doing so to render the best service they could to the public.

It was in the J.P.C. that the problems emerged which were to form the program material for the Farm and Citizens' Forums. That program material in turn became available to small and large discussion groups across the country with the consequence that some attention was annually given, through Canada-wide media and through university extension activities and through large and small groups, to what a representative group of adult educators and representatives of the media (the J.P.C.) thought to be some of the major problems affecting the Canadian society—at home and abroad.

Despite the terms of reference of the CAAE, which seemed to confine its role to that of clearing house, Corbett's instinct prompted him to programming for Canadian nation building and for that sense of citizen participation which he considered essential to a healthy society.

In my opinion, there continues to be a very great need to use public radio, tv and film to help Canadian citizens focus upon Canadian-wide problems in somewhat the same context as an annual adult educational exercise. This is, in our vast country, essential to our sense of national community.

Having lived for twenty-odd years as a Maritimer, fifteen as an Ontarian, fifteen as a British Columbian and some ten as a member of the federal and increasingly bilingual enclave—Ottawa, I am conscious of the fact that Canadian concerns have to be intruded into our local, provincial, and regional concerns—and that this is a primary job (not the *only one* but a *primary one*) for our adult educators.

Corbett set us on this path but we have tended in recent years to go our own ways. The Couchiching Conference has grown up and performs a useful function for a limited period, but it is not (despite the broadcasts) Canada-wide in interest or personnel.

The CBC has given almost complete autonomy to its English and French language networks with little profitable communication or exchange between them and very little organized exchange of views with the educational community. They have also become professional in too narrow and exclusive a manner. It seems to me that what the public enjoys in the few controversial CBC broadcasts that persist is their persistent amateurism. The CBC has for some years now withdrawn from meaningful consultation with adult education and higher education through the J.P.C. or in any other consistent way and has in fact so de-emphasized its Public Affairs division as to discourage its own people—driving them out or remarshalling them into Sunday night "show biz".

The N.F.B. has also in recent years allowed a 'de facto' separatism to develop between English and French language producers. It has—even worse—neglected its prime responsibility to reflect the growing points of the Canadian society—and has retreated into unimpressive interpretations of Canadian history, some charming fantasy and a considerable preoccupation with nouvelle vogue cinematography. Some of this is highly stimulating and most of it within their terms of reference. But again *what of the Canadian society*—in its new and changing dimensions?

We educators, adult educators, media men, have in my opinion become parcelled out into separate professional compartments well before the state of our society can afford it—(if any society can ever afford that!)

The Canadian Association for Adult Education has, I think, a very important role to play. It must be concerned with continuing professional and sub-professional education.

It must be concerned with research and the training of adult educators.

It must be concerned to liaise with provincial and regional adult education organizations and to provide clearing house functions for them.

But to me *above and beyond any of its other functions* it has a duty to program to the Canadian society intimations of the directions of its development and to foster that sense of participant citizenship which alone can create giants.

It must mobilize English and French-speaking educators and media men on a Canada-wide basis to lead the discussion of Canadian problems in our time and circumstances to respond to the challenge of our time and circumstances: I am convinced that there is enough goodwill and intelligence in the English and French-speaking Canadian communities to create a significant variation of North American civilization in Canada and we can only do this by exploiting our bilingual potential.

This new dimension in nation building offers unlimited headaches and frustrations but it also could provide a sense of vocation which alone can give satisfaction to "stickit ministers" and other adult educators.

Learning and a Second Career

WILDER PENFIELD (1961)

> *"The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away."*

The shepherd, David, who wrote those words, lived 3000 years ago; and yet in his pastoral surroundings, he expected to live as long as we do today; 70 years or, by reason of strength, 80 years, or even by chance 100 years. His expectation was fulfilled for he was 30 years a shepherd and psalmist and soldier, and 40 years ruler of Israel.

He had two careers; and that brings me to the subject here:

"Second Careers Instead of Retirement"

If we were to look at the early decades, my talk would have to do with education. Instead of that, let us turn our attention today to the late decades of life. Accepted rules of retirement have been influenced in no small measure by William Osler.

"I have two fixed ideas," he wrote:

"The first is the comparative uselessness of men above forty years of age. . . .

"My second fixed idea is the uselessness of men above sixty years of age, and the incalculable benefit it would be in commercial, political and in professional life if, as matter of course, men stopped work at this age."

Then with tongue in cheek, and feeling safe from misunderstanding because of his own age, continued as follows: "As it can be maintained that all the great advances have come from men under forty, so the history of the world shows that a very large proportion of the evils may be traced to sexagenarians . . . all of the worst poems, most of the bad pictures, a majority of the bad novels, not a few of the bad sermons and I hesitate to add speeches."

On the second day of the furor that followed the Montreal Gazette published a delightfully understanding quotation from London's *Telegraph* of the day before. It ran as follows: Dr. Osler is to be congratulated on the success of his little jest. He will add to the gaiety of Oxford if he can stir it to depths by similar playfulness. It is no small feat to have deluded into seriousness a nation of humorists."

This then was his final opinion. But what should our conclusion be now more than half a century later. The answer, it seems to me, may be found in a reconsideration of Osler's own career. Instead of disappearing in retirement, content to rest from his labors, he actually embarked on a second career when he sailed for Oxford.

Osler's Second Career

Osler's major biography was published in 1925, six years after his death, written by the neurosurgeon Harvey Cushing, Professor of Surgery at Harvard University. Cushing had come under Osler's spell at an earlier period when they were both in Baltimore. Volume I of the Cushing biography deals with Sir William's life during his first 56 years; the second is concerned only with the 14 years of life that remained to him after he went to Oxford. And yet there are 685 pages in Volume I and 686 pages in Volume II. If he had died when he retired from the Johns Hopkins, one half of the things which his biographer considered to be of interest to posterity would have been lost. And, it may be added, that Cushing's life of Sir William Osler won the Pulitzer Prize for Biography in 1926.

It may well be true, as Osler argued, that "The effective, moving, vitalizing work of the world is done between the ages of 25 and 40," I do not know about that, but this I believe: Every year from birth to death should have its use and purpose. Understanding is born from the hard work and experience of early life. Understanding grows with the years and, with it, perspective and wisdom. There is no limit to the uses of these things this side of the grave and we should do well to make them available to society today.

Although the population of Canada has increased two and one half times in the past fifty years, the number of people over 65 has increased four times. Thirty percent of those who have reached the age of 65 owe their survival to advances in general medicine that have been made since the time of their birth. Out of every hundred of you here today, thirty have had your fate reversed; you were granted a reprieve by medical science.

I do not dare to guess which ones of us who have been eating and digesting a very good luncheon, would not be here if it were not for the achievements of modern medicine since Osler's day. What ingredient it was that Hecate and her disappointed sisters would have put in fate's bubbling caldron for those of us who hold the reprieve we cannot tell; diphtheria, perhaps, or typhoid fever, scarlet fever, malaria, syphilis, pneumonia, appendicitis.

In the more crowded countries of the world, the total multiplication of population that has been produced by preventive medicine presents an even greater embarrassment. Inevitable famine looms before them in the near future, unless the lowered death rate can be speedily balanced by lowered birthrate. Government, Church and Medicine will have to face that problem here when it does arise.

The problem that I would examine with you today has to do with the ever-increasing company of men in western countries between 60 and 90. It is the vigorous and potentially productive portion of this company of men that I would discuss, not those who are sick or suffering from senility. For them, there is a newly developed branch of medicine, Geriatrics. It deals with the health problems of the aged, just as Pediatrics deals with the ailments of children. Hospitals, old people's homes and old age pensions have served a useful purpose in the past. But no Government, however welfare-minded, should hope to solve the unemployment problem by building rest homes for able-bodied men who are not ready for rest and do not want to rust out their lives.

The theory that the man or woman of 60 has nothing more to contribute to society during the 10 or 20 years of active life that remain, is wrong. The belief that men in later years cannot learn new skills and educated men new professions, is false. Most men who retire could continue on in constructive work, if they saw that they were needed. But many of them face a paralyzing psychological misconception and are halted by it, although there is no true physical or mental disability. Let me describe then the evolution of a little recognized disease, a psychological malady which we might name pseudo-senility or false senility.

A worthy citizen employed in business for example, or industry or education or government, reaches his time of statutory retirement. Some colleague, who happens to have a larger bank account of unspent years, comes to him and gives him a gold watch and tells him to take a well-earned rest. The man who was busy and capable of contributing something that was of value yesterday, stays home. He mows the lawn perhaps, and carries out the garbage for his wife, while he thinks about his future. When he is well behaved she lets him wash the dishes. He notices that his recent memory is not as good as it was when he was younger, although distant memory is good enough. He doesn't know that this is caused by the fact that the hippocampal gyrus in the temporal lobe of each side of the brain often suffers some interference in its circulation, while the rest of the brain is as good as ever for many years to come.

Perhaps then some friend who is well meaning but devoid of a sense of humour (most people have at least one such friend), comes to comfort him. "Enjoy yourself," he says, "That's all you can do now." People begin to say, behind his back, of course, that he is going to pieces "poor fellow!" And so he is.

He thinks he is good for nothing, not realizing that the people who *are* good for nothing, don't think so. He begins to disintegrate. The only thing that could be guaranteed to make him disintegrate faster would be an increased intake of alcohol. That man is suffering from a delusion of incompetence, not from incompetence, itself, a retirement neurosis of *false senility*.

The whole trouble was that what he needed when he was given the gold watch, was a new job, a difficult job—not a rest. Beyond the normal rhythm of work and sleep, rest was not what he needed. Unlimited rest results in rust. It corrodes the mechanisms of the brain—the rhubarb, that no one picks, goes to seed.

Now, it is a curious fact that women rarely suffer from the neurosis of *false senility*. Perhaps is it because they are less easily deluded! But I suspect that it is because most women have a second career that no one needs to plan. When they have raised a family, or finished a profession, or when they have finished with both, they turn to full time housekeeping. And no prudent man would dare to say that this is not essential and important.

Second Careers

The time of retirement should be reorganized and renamed. It is the time for embarking on a new career, the last career perhaps, but not necessarily a less enjoyable one; not, perhaps, a less useful one to society. Disease and disability may overtake men at any age, of course, and force them to withdraw from work. But the capacity of the human brain for certain purposes often increases right through the years that are marked for standard retirement. Those purposes may well be what the world is needing.

I do not urge that the time for a man to retire from his primary career should be postponed—not at all. A second career can quite well begin by the age of 60. It should start by then at the latest, even if formal retirement takes place at 65 or later. The preparation for a second career should be undertaken long before that, preferably in the forties. Better yet, it may well have come with him from school days.

When a man reaches his sixties, he should be released from heavy harness, but he might claim the right to start a new or modified career, the nature of which must depend on interest and ability. It should call for less physical stamina–provide greater latitude of living, allow a variable or decreasing amount of physical labour.

No Added Load

Executives, statesmen and educators might well discover that this growing army of senior citizens need be no added load to society; quite the contrary. They must, however, provide a stage of transition and perhaps courses of preparation. There is an ancient adage that you cannot teach an old dog new tricks. That adage is not true for men, nor for dogs either. It is also not true that men have no contribution to make in the last 20 years of life.

No one can deny that the human brain passes through certain inexorable changes. It has a specialized capacity for the learning of language before the age of about 12. After that time it is ready for mathematics and rationalization, independent thought. At 60 the body has certainly passed its greatest strength, and physical demands should be lessened and changed. But the brain is normally ready for its best performance in certain fields.

New jobs call for the use of previously unused nerve cell connections in the brain. The "old dog" will increase his previous capacity by taking on a challenging new job. Take soldiers like Eisenhower and de Gaulle, who were pushed into second careers as statesmen. Challenge calls forth unsuspected greatness in the common man, and in the uncommon.

Consider what men have done in the field of leadership after 60. Take Clemenceau, Adenauer and Voltaire in their eighties; Verdi composing his greatest operas between 74 and 80; Michaelangelo painting the Last Judgment at 60. Look at Winston Churchill! When he had reached the age of 79 he was too busy to go to Stockholm to accept the Nobel Prize for work in the field of his second career, that of literature. His wife had to pick up the prize for him! As though it were a notice from the post office.

A genius is not a man who was made in some other image; he is just a man driven to constructive action by a great enthusiasm. Enthusiasm feeds on challenge.

The ordinary brain is good enough for most men and most purposes. Its best tonic is use, the worst treatment discouragement and disuse.

Herein lies a great educational opportunity–the training of retiring men for "second careers". Not everyone will be ready to decide for himself what his second career might be. Corporations and colleges and governments have to put the man who is approaching the statutory age limit through a set of psychological tests (and this will call for new techniques of testing). Those, who can pass, should be entitled to training for new jobs, honorable ones.

Those who explore this field will discover, I suspect, that the broad early education serves the specialist best. All men become specialists in time if they accomplish anything. A second career means a change in specialization. Breadth of education is acquired, outside the school more often perhaps than in it, by independent study, hobbies, reading, travel, curiosity. Thus the windows of the mind are opened to many varied fields of knowledge and endeavor.

Recently I attended a meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. It was founded, many years ago, by Benjamin Franklin "for promoting useful knowledge". Franklin was a man of many concurrent careers. One of the numerous knowledgeful papers that were read at the meeting was by the president of the Du Pont Company, Crawford Greenewalt.

Earlier this year, he had a book published by the McGraw-Hill Company entitled, "The Uncommon Man". It has to do with the search for, and the development of men of unusual ability in large scale business organizations. But the President of Du Pont is himself the uncommon man, beginning in his fifties the added careers of writer and scientist. When he is relieved of his major job and is given the symbolic gold watch with the kind words, one of his concurrent careers will, no doubt, become a second career.

I have myself been striving to learn the techniques of a new profession in vacation periods for the past sixteen years. In 1954, I baked a trial cake, a literary cake, a novel far removed from my professional field. Perhaps those of you who tasted it, thought it underdone. But I have another cake ready for the oven and I have discovered what a delightful place a literary kitchen can be! It is even more exciting than an operating room. And it is reassuring for a surgeon to know that although a failure in the literary field may cause indigestion, nausea, even sleep; it is not apt to be followed by a funeral.

But when *homo sapiens* turns his eye upon himself he finds more cause for tears than laughter. The length of man's allotted life on earth is 70 years, or, by reason of strength, 80, 90 or 100 years. The miracle of birth began his day and death is the end. Immortality may be his hope but not immortality here in this body. In this turbulent world, love and kindliness are man's most welcome blessings; work to good purpose his most precious privilege, and toward the end senescence with its stealthy closure of the doors around, its comforting drowsiness at the close of the day, may make death's coming not unwelcome.

Nothing Changed

Science has not changed these things. The span of life today is about the same as it was when David played on his harp before King Saul.

For the common man who is fortunate enough to continue through the normal span of life, there should come a time for shifting harness, for lightening the load one way and adjusting it for greater effort in another.

That is the time for the second career, time for the old dog to perform new tricks. It may bring in little money; it may be concerned only with good works; it may well bring in much needed support; it can be a delight to a man who comes to his well earned job, rather than a well earned rest; it can be, too, what society needs most from him.

The problem to set before the wise men of today is this: how can each individual be given the chance to labour as long as he has the will and the health to work. Sometimes, "the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong." It may be that the last work of the old man's hands will serve society best—and him as well.

VI COMING OF AGE

What education as a whole deals with is the reality of human society, the organized forms of intelligence, knowledge and imagination that make men civilized.

NORTHROP FRYE

On this strange and uncertain pilgrimage, we have picked our way through the slough of despond and found that the bogs and quagmires were but the figments of our imagination: we have visited the City of Despair and found it walled in only by its fantasies of Space and Time; we have confronted the Lions of Automata and discovered them to be ephemera, the mirror age of our minds; we have travelled the Valley of Paradise, and eaten its strange fruit; Leisure.

Now we have but a little further to go.

We must cross the Delectable Mountains. They may seem to be far away, shimmering there; but that is an accident of our eyesight.

They are really right here under our feet; if we but look. Like the Chinese journey of a thousand miles, we shall approach them one step at a time.

QUOTED IN SCHOOL PROGRESS

The herald of action in many an early silent western movie was the emergence of a familiar screen title "meanwhile back at the ranch." Back at the headquarters for adult education – and that might be in school or college or in the work place or a hotel seminar, or wherever the learner happens to be, adult education goes on, concerned about making society more humane, of exchanging knowledge and unleashing imagination, in other words with what used to be called the "eternal verities". We became aware, to our deepest chagrin, that those who were already capable were making greater use of adult education than the under-educated, thus further widening the perilous gap. Yet efforts in the present and future may be more successful both at home and abroad. Canadian adult educationists are involved in programs of adult education in many parts of the world. At the beginning of the 1970's the focus is still on the human family, on the learner, on his needs and his aspirations.

But the 1960's for adult education was not like any other decade. It was a time of vastly increased participation, recognition of the field as a central not a peripheral activity and the provision of very much larger resources. Adult education may not have matured significantly but its acceptance and the changing character of its responsibilities signalled a new phase—a point-of-no-return.

New responsibilities—for the vast numbers of part time students, for self directed learners in the millions, for training capable practitioners, for the continuing education of decision makers, for the under educated, for assistance via education to other members of the human family beyond the borders.

The term "Coming of Age" defines a condition of responsibility more than a growth point. For adult education in the future the questions are not so much about status or resources; they are about quality. Are we good enough?

(1) Coming of Age—But Unfinished Business

J. FRANK LEDDY (1962)

Extracts From His Closing Remarks to the National Conference on Education, 1962.

This remarkable Conference and its predecessor in 1958 are gatherings of unique character, without parallel in Canadian history or, so far as I am aware, in the experience of other countries. We have had larger meetings for political or religious or for business or social purposes but nothing which has been so meticulously planned for several years in advance, or which has been so widely representative of every area, of every age group and of every interest in Canada. It has been a truly national effort with the full support and cooperation of business and labour, of teachers and students, of trustees and parents, of clergy and laity, of experts of great professional competence, and of men and women with no pretension to special knowledge but with an ample store of common sense and good will. In short, it has been a citizens' gathering, united in the intention to promote the welfare of education throughout Canada and to solve the urgent problems which challenge our ingenuity in every province.

It is particularly agreeable to signalize the truly representative attendance of Canadians of the French language, numbering nearly one-third of the delegates here, as they should, and rightly taking a prominent part in the proceedings of this Conference.

As a result the Conference has been something of an historic landmark on the way to greater unity and friendliness between Canadians of the English and the French languages, a process well under way and deliberately promoted with increasing determination in educational circles in this country since the end of the Second World War. For some years past, at meetings of the Learned Societies and at other professional and scholarly gatherings, there has been an agreement that each participant should speak his own language, without apology or repetition or translation on his part. The provision of neat electronic devices for simultaneous translation has made the exchange here more convenient and efficient without any offensive suggestion of priority.

This Conference did not assemble on short or casual notice nor as the result of incidental or intermittent efforts. Its preparation has required long hours of planning and work on the part of many men and women who deserve our gratitude.

There must have been times when these good people worried about the success of this Conference, rather like the audience at a symphony concert listening to the preliminary tuning up with its confusion and conflict of instruments, and wondering if, after such closing chaos, the same performers will provide harmony and melody—and respond to some direction. In the event, their confidence has been justified, with the emergence of greater agreement and wider conviction than I would have thought possible in advance.

I do not claim that there has been a clear and uniform pattern which I can now expound to you. And I do not intend to affront your good sense with an artificial construction of carefully selected sentences and comments designed to suggest a unity of thought in these proceedings which was not in fact always exhibited and which is not to be expected or even desired in a gathering of two thousand people. But some of the differences which have been expressed, occasionally in vigorous languages, are more apparent than real, with more common ground than may be admitted in the debate. Certainly this seemed to be so in the discussion of the aims of education.

The organizers of the Conference took an unusual and bold step in assigning the entire first day to an exchange on the Aims of Education, thus requiring us to be philosophers of a sort, at least for the day. We may not all have risen to the challenge but it was clearly logical to press us to consider our fundamental ideals before allowing us to talk about secondary matters on which our opinions were at least in part determined by our acceptance of certain basic principles.

In the presentation, both in the main addresses and in the panels, the point of view seemed repeatedly to divide on the line of cleavage between those whose first preoccupation was with man as he is in his nature and those who preferred to give priority to what he is to do. The positions are not mutually exclusive and can be and usually are combined in varying proportions, and it seems correct to say that most delegates would feel uncomfortable with an uncompromising statement of either approach which was not balanced or completed with at least some acceptance of the other. An exclusive attention to the practical and the immediate with the ideal of producing the flexible and all-purpose mind, runs the risk of leaving the student all dressed up but with no place to go, or at any rate with no reason for selecting an objective. On the other hand, theory, however admirable, which is not projected into the context of the practical problems of the school and university, can be remote and ineffectual in its impact.

There is no Canadian philosophy of education, and no reason why there should be, anymore than there should be Canadian mathematics or chemistry. But there is a reasonably clear uniformity in Canadian reactions to various theories of education, and, typically, it can be described as a judicious compromise, on the conservative side. Sweeping and challenging demands for radical changes in our outlook and practice were not much heard at this Conference and if they had been they would have been enjoyed, discussed, debated,—and forgotten, the common fate of any effort in this country to break sharply with previous general practice. And on the whole that fact is the most revealing thing about this Conference. It is to be emphasized that, although there have been sharp and striking criticisms of various aspects of Canadian education, and these have naturally been much publicized in press reports, as excellent copy, the basic mood of the Conference has not been negative but positive, with an assumption, much taken for granted, that basically Canadian education is sound and creditable, advancing with the country, keeping pace or almost so, with the demands made upon it. But good enough is not good enough, in this day and age, and what is well done can be even better done and ought to be, and it is in this spirit that our delegates have come to Montreal, satisfied with much that has been done, determined to make advantageous changes, and deeply aware that Canada will not be left untouched by the world-wide revolution in politics and in science which is now in full tide and will sweep on throughout our life time. It is no longer in our hands, as Canadian educators, to select the times and the seasons, for change, at our own leisurely convenience, and this awareness, if little expressed, has never been out of our thoughts.

It is usual, and this Conference has been no exception, to describe, with a nice blend of alarm and delight, the accelerating rate of change in the world today—the swift advance of science, the growth in our schools and universities, the shift in customs and interests, which make 1939 seem old-fashioned, and 1914 ancient. It is possible to maintain that there were fewer changes in the world between the days of Julius Caesar and Queen Victoria than there have been in the past century.

Jacques Cartier who stepped ashore on this pleasant island over four hundred years ago could have imagined, with little effort, the development of a harbour town at Montreal, and if he had been allowed on each subsequent centenary anniversary of his arrival to return for a view of this city, he would have been gratified but not, I think, much surprised at the changes until this century. But today he would be astounded at the view by night from the mountain, or the top of this building, thinking himself to be in a magician's world of bright lights, vast buildings, and swift transport.

And by the same token, how futile for us to stretch our imaginations to attempt to glimpse the world in which our present students will reach old age. In one sense we cannot hope to prepare them for that world, at least in its specific features, anymore than my teachers in the Twenties could have anticipated on my behalf the world which I have reached in early middle age, characterized by television, swift jet transport, the promise, and the threat, of nuclear power. Yet, in another way the tasks of education change very little over the centuries, at least in their fundamental objectives, seeing the individual as deserving our best attentions, whose talents are to be liberated and enhanced, equal to his own times but not limited to them. (How agreeable it was at this Conference to hear so little about the strange doctrines once so popular in the United States in the great days of John Dewey and his inferior disciples, how pleasant indeed to be invited, as we were by one speaker to take note of the demise of a movement to which many Canadians, blithely joining a procession just as it was breaking up, once gave their adhesion. How odd it seems now to recollect the once immense popularity of ideas which were so narrow and limited, geared entirely to the immediate environment and moment in time. It was a movement alien to the North American genius, with its emphasis on the individual and his enterprise, and out of sympathy with the twentieth century as it has developed, with its better and belated re-discovery that we cannot ignore our basic principles, that our premises soon find us out, that our philosophical and political doctrines set the framework of our lives, in a Fascist, or Communist or Democratic society.)

In one sense the necessity of holding this Conference has been dictated by the changes which impose so heavy a burden on educational administrators in this country. We must make clear to the people of Canada our urgent needs, the heavy taxation needed to provide the new schools and universities across the country—and we need to do so, without apology, reminding them that this is on their account, in their interest, and not merely in response to the unreasonable demand of some limited professional group. Repeatedly it was clear, especially in the workshops, that our trustees and teachers, who had undertaken such programs of exposition to the public, had been met with the fullest cooperation and understanding, and that where there was an appreciation of the facts there was the fullest support.

And yet, as we consider the financial burdens of our schools and universities, it is inescapably clear that traditional methods of financing our increasingly heavy budgets are inadequate. Provincial and municipal resources are no longer enough, in the tax structure which has developed in Canada, to meet all the necessary demands. What then do we do? The answer is clear and unavoidable—even if it raises awkward constitutional problems. We turn to the federal government, with its wider-based, national sources of income. I am aware that I here tread on dangerous ground, an easy target for the stern theorist in constitutional matters, especially those who are, for other reasons, rightly concerned to protect and maintain the legitimate interest of Canadians of the French language. But I do so, deliberately, considering that we have not gone to much trouble, and to vast expense to gather here with the intention of speaking only gentle evasions.

The plight of our schools and universities, often tied to out-of-date financial procedures, increasingly inadequate, presents a national problem and it must be solved by national means, unencumbered by the dreary mystique of constitutional lawyers, happily debating clauses and commas without reference to grim realities of a world in which we now live and in which great nations do not hamper and hobble themselves.

I put it to you bluntly: what is at stake today–the freedom and welfare of all Canadians, threatened in a divided world by the relentless hostility of slave states, in the grip and drive of totalitarian governments, or the traditional privileges of our provinces, as conceived and protected a century ago? You know the main issues as well as I do, and you are aware that Canadian survival in the twentieth century is geared closely to the effectiveness of Canadian education–in every province.

We have made at least a beginning, at the university level and at the vocational level, under the last federal government and under the present regime, in making increasingly available large grants for research, for vocational training, and for general university expenses, and by the extension of the same ingenuity I see no reason why we cannot do as well at other levels and in other areas of education, throughout Canada, without offense or transgression where essential and fundamental rights need to be protected.

I desire to make this argument clear, and in unmistakable terms: I am convinced that what we had done in recent years in these areas is in no sense a violation of the fundamental sense of our constitution–and that we can extend the federal involvement in the *support* of education without introducing any unwelcome threat of *direction* of education. It required no great ingenuity to make the necessary adjustments of interpretation. After all, in 1867 there were no universities, as we now have them, in their intricate and expensive complexity, and there was no world-wide threat to freedom such as we face.

There were wise and prudent men in 1867–as there are in 1962. Canadian wisdom and enterprise were not exhausted, constitutionally, in the last century, and it is left to, and demanded of, us, in our generation, to look to the future, as well as the past. Canadians will look extremely silly if, in the face of the challenges of the Twentieth century, they are to be found bemused with the preoccupations of the Nineteenth, paralyzed by the suspicions and the divisions of a bygone age. And here I address myself, by way of assurance, to our friends of the French language who are perhaps uneasy at the direction of these remarks.

I can do so from the point of vantage of one who is located in intermediate territory, affiliated by language and culture with the majority, and by religion with the minority. It is not comfortable territory, in something of a crossfire, on occasion, and, let me assure you, it is quite without political prospects, but it does have certain advantages, not least of which is a natural inclination, which I hope I fully exhibit, in favour of genuine unity in this country, free of constraint, and open to diversity.

So let me declare, what I am sure to be the genuine desire of delegates to this Conference, that it is our conviction that the Canada of the future like the Canada of the past will be a country in which mutual respect, under the law and constitution of our founding fathers, will flourish in a spirit of understanding.

We now approach our centenary as a united nation. Surely it does not need saying, but I shall say it anyway, that we come to this great anniversary not in any spirit of distrust or disaffection, doubtful of our federation, province by province, English with French, but rather with a growing sense of satisfaction and confidence that we have chosen the right road.

In our conversations, French with English, this has been made clear, many times over as we have met informally at this great Conference. We have extended to one another the hand of warm greeting, of confidence, and of full fraternity. We have been conscious of no barrier between us, differ as we might in many matters. And so, I must confess, with feelings of special regret, that these genuine and undoubted emotions, privately exhibited, have been so little echoed on public occasions.

We shall scrupulously observe the commitments made at Confederation, not only because we must but because we desire to do so. We Canadians are an honest and honorable people; we plan no deceit; we are engaged in no conspiracy—and we resent even the suggestion.

And having said as much, as a devoted honorary alumnus of two great French Canadian universities, may I gently add that there is a reciprocal obligation, of which we might well hear more, on the part of our friends of the French language, not only to remind us of the differences which they so honorably desire to maintain but of the unities which they share in the fullness of Christian amity, and of which they must be the special hope and defence in this Canada of ours.

As it happens, there has been at our many sessions no statement, in ringing and eloquent terms, of the general principles, the deep affirmations, to which Canadians can be invited to subscribe, whatever their manifold and various cultural background. It is too late to supply it, and in any case it would be presumptuous of me to suggest that I can offer to you what other men have been unable to give or willing to provide—but I can not conclude without saying some things which are close to my deepest convictions and dear to my heart, offering them not on my account alone, but because I feel them to be the aspirations of many, of most Canadians of goodwill in this day.

I begin with the proposition, surely not to be denied, that in the 1960's the key to the future of Canada, and of any country in the world today is the effectiveness of its educational system. I say to you frankly that any country in which the schools and universities are in trouble is a country without a future, or with a troubled and difficult prospect. It is the discovery of this age, throughout every continent, that a country which cares for anything–money, power or the show of influence–more than for education, and its deeply involved cultural commitments, is a country which shall lose its inferior aims, and at the same time fail to achieve its secondary aims. (It was the comment of a great and gallant American, of the common people, and so better than most of us, Sergeant York, that if anybody cared more for power or money than they did for freedom they would lose their freedom, and everything else besides.) So it is with education.

Any state in which it is neglected is a state without fair prospects for the future, for, no matter what its secondary aims, it shall attain none of its objectives. It shall fail to keep its freedoms and at the same time it shall miss all its lesser objectives. This is the way of the world, this is the lesson of many ages of bitter experience. I see no reason why we should trouble to question the clear lesson of history. It applies, with full force, to Canada, whether we live in Quebec or in Montreal, in Calgary or in Vancouver.

If we are slow to accept this lesson there are others, in Moscow or in Peking, whose vision is not so confused. And so it is, in 1962, that the most important facts of life are not the trade balances of keen business men, not the subtle adjustments of suave diplomats, but the patient lessons and lectures of teachers and professors who have yet to learn their own power.

All this would not matter very much, if to you and me, Canada was just another country, an accidental combination of political and economic factors, and of historical memories. But this is not so. For us Canada is not just another country, nor is it just another loyalty, interchangeable with the technical requirements of citizenship in another land.

Canada, we sense, is a special place, blessed of Providence, preserved from the undeserved misfortunes which have overwhelmed better lands, or better people. I do not know why this should be so, and I avoid any complacency in making the claim. But I demand the concurrence of my fellow Canadians, both French and English in language, in acknowledging our remarkable good fortune, without parallel in history, which has so attended us. But reflecting on these things I am prompted to assert that of all countries in the world, without exception, Canada is most favoured in one respect, the remarkable combination of circumstances which set us apart, without rivalry as the freest and finest of countries in which to live.

Obscurely, sometimes, Canadians know this, seeking to come back to Canada from the United States, or Great Britain, or some other country, not quite sure why they desire to do so.

In my view they have sensed something which calls for explicit recognition: that Canada enjoys unusual equality in social, in economic, and in political possibilities. There are other countries with a claim to greater equality in one of these categories than we can pretend. I would suppose that the United States might present a more impressive record of economic equality, on the whole, than we can offer, and that the United Kingdom could point with pride to a more sophisticated level of political development.

This and much else I will concede but I would affirm, with much emphasis, that Canada is unique in its portrayal of these three, fundamental equalities, taken in combination and in their interrelated unity. I declare seriously and with intensity, that nowhere in the world are there men and women more fortunate than we are, set upon the stage of the Twentieth Century, less burdened than anyone in history, more favoured by Providence than we have been. How can you maintain this advantage? How can we pass along to others, of the next generation that which we have received and which we most eagerly desire continued in Canada, in future generations.

You know the answer, as well as I do. You are aware that the three equalities which I have discerned and claimed, in combination, for Canada alone, depend, entirely, upon the strength and the intensity of conviction in our educational system. All other considerations falter in comparison. This is our sole defence, our only safeguard. This is the only aim, the only prospect of *Education for Canada*.

I am sure that the men and women of Canada, required to advance our education, will not fail us. Eagerly I await the story of the next and succeeding decades. With gratitude I salute those who have gone before us, and with full confidence I watch for those who will maintain this worthy tradition.

We are the most fortunate of men in Canada, indulged by history more than those in any other country. Let us acknowledge our undeserved prosperity, our free access to full knowledge, our freedom from mean constraint. And let us, in gratitude, turn with enterprise, with vigour and generosity to the full development of education in Canada, at every level, for our own sake and for the men of other countries, to whom Providence has given us, in spite of our unworthiness, as elder brothers.

We have had great and golden ages in the past, accomplished by rough military power and overwhelming financial affluence. Today, for the first time, in such countries as Canada, we hear a call to achievement and endeavour, addressed to countries of no such pretensions. We welcome it, and shall not fail.

(2) A Talk to Teachers

CHIEF DAN GEORGE (1969)

My very good dear friends....

Was it only yesterday that men sailed around the moon.... And is it tomorrow they will stand up on its barren surface? You and I marvel that man should travel so far and so fast.... Yet, if they have travelled far then I have travelled farther... and if they have travelled fast, then I faster... for I was born a thousand years ago... born in a culture of bows and arrows. But within the span of half a lifetime I was flung across the ages to the culture of the atom bomb... and from bows and arrows to atom bombs is a distance far beyond a flight to the moon.

I was born in an age that loved the things of nature and gave them beautiful names like Tes-wall-u-wit instead of dried up names like Stanley Park.

I was born when people loved all nature and spoke to it as though it has a soul.... I can remember going up Indian River with my father when I was very young.... I can remember him watching the sun light fires on Mount Pay-nay-nay- as it rose above its peak. I can remember him singing his thanks to it as he often did... singing the Indian word "thanks..." so very very softly.

And then the people came... more and more people came... like a crushing rushing wave they came... hurling the years aside!!... and suddenly I found myself a young man in the midst of the twentieth century.

I found myself and my people adrift in this new age... but not a part of it.

Engulfed by its rushing tide, but only as a captive eddy... going round and round... on little reserves, on plots of land we floated in a kind of grey unreality... ashamed of our culture which you ridiculed... unsure of who we were or where we were going... uncertain of our grip on the present... weak in our hope of the future.... And that is where we pretty well stand today.

I had a glimpse of something better than this. For a few brief years I knew my people when they lived the old life.... I knew them when there was still a dignity in their lives and a feeling of worth in their outlook. I knew them when there was unspoken confidence in the home and a certain knowledge of the path they walked upon. But they were living on the dying energy of a dying culture... a culture that was slowly losing its forward thrust.

I think it was the suddenness of it all that hurt us so. We did not have time to adjust to the startling upheaval around us. We seemed to have lost what we had without a replacement for it. We did not have time to take your 20th century progress and eat it little by little and digest it. It was forced feeding from the start and our stomach turned sick and we vomited.

Do you know what it is like to be without moorings? Do you know what it is like to live in surroundings that are ugly and everywhere you look you see ugly things . . . strange things . . . strange and ugly things. It depresses man, for man must be surrounded by the beautiful if his soul is to grow.

What did we see in the new surroundings you brought us? Laughing faces, pitying faces, sneering faces, conniving faces. Faces that ridiculed, faces that stole from us. It is no wonder we turned to the only people who did not steal and who did not sneer, who came with love. They were the missionaries and they came with love and I for one will ever return that love.

Do you know what it is like to feel you are of no value to society and those around you? To know that people came to help you but not to work with you for you know that they knew you had nothing to offer . . . ?

Do you know what it is like to have your race belittled and to be made aware of the fact that you are only a burden to the country? Maybe we did not have the skills to make a meaningful contribution, but no one would wait for us to catch up. We were shoved aside because we were dumb and could never learn.

What is it like to be without pride in your race, pride in your family, pride and confidence in yourself. What is it like? You don't know for you never tasted its bitterness.

I shall tell you what it is like. It is like not caring about tomorrow for what does tomorrow matter. It is like having a reserve that looks like a junk yard because the beauty in the soul is dead and why should the soul express an external beauty that does not match it? It is like getting drunk and for a few brief moments an escaping from ugly reality and feeling a sense of importance. It is most of all like awaking next morning to the guilt of betrayal. For the alcohol did not fill the emptiness but only dug it deeper.

And now you hold out your hand and you beckon to me to come over . . . come and integrate you say. . . . But how can I come . . . I am naked and ashamed. How can I come in dignity? I have no presents . . . I have no gifts. What is there in my culture you value . . . my poor treasure you can only scorn.

Am I then to come as a beggar and receive all from your omnipotent hand? Somehow I must wait . . . I must delay. I must find myself. I must find my treasure. I must wait until you want something of me . . . until you need something that is me. Then I can raise my head and say to my wife and family . . . listen . . . they are calling . . . they need me . . . I must go.

Then I can walk across the street and I will hold my head high for I will meet you as an equal. I will not scorn you for your teeming gifts and you will not receive me in pity. Pity I can do without ... my manhood I cannot do without.

I can only come as Chief Capilano came to Captain Vancouver ... as one sure of his authority ... certain of his worth ... master of his house ... and leader of his people. I shall not come as a cringing object of your pity. I shall come in dignity or I shall not come at all.

You talk big words of Integration in the schools. Does it really exist. Can we talk of integration until there is social integration ... unless there is integration of hearts and minds you have only a physical presence ... and the walls are as high as the mountain range.

Come with me to the playgrounds of an integrated high school ... see how level and flat and ugly the black top ... but look ... now it is recess time ... the students pour through the doors ... soon over here is a group of white students ... and see ... over there near the fence ... a group of native students ... and look again ... the black is no longer level ... mountain ranges rising ... valleys falling ... and a great chasm seems to be opening up between the two groups ... yours and mine ... and no one seems capable of crossing over. But wait ... soon the bell will ring and the students will leave the play yard. Integration has moved indoors. There isn't much room in a classroom to dig chasms so there are only little ones there ... only little ones ... for we won't allow big ones ... at least, not right under our noses ... so we will cover it all over with black top ... cold ... black ... flat ... and full of ugliness in its sameness.

I know you must be saying ... tell us what *do* you want. What do we want? We want first of all to be respected and to feel we are people of worth. We want an equal opportunity to succeed in life ... but we cannot succeed on your terms ... we cannot raise ourselves on your norms. We need specialized help in education ... specialized help in the formative years ... special courses in English. We need guidance counselling ... we need equal job opportunities for our graduates, otherwise our students will lose courage and ask what is the use of it all.

Let no one forget it ... we are a people with special rights guaranteed to us by promises and treaties. We do not beg for these rights, nor do we thank you ... we do not thank you for them because we paid for them ... and, God help us, the price we paid was exorbitant. We paid for them with our culture, our dignity and self respect. We paid and paid and paid until we became a beaten race, poverty stricken and conquered.

But you have been kind to listen to me and I know that in your heart you wished you could help. I wonder if there is much you can do and yet there is a lot you can do ... when you meet my children in your classroom respect each one for what he is ... a child of our Father in heaven, and your brother. Maybe it all boils down to just that.

(3) I Wonder Why

JEAN VANIER (1969)

Education for all people: particularly for handicapped people.

This morning I was digging with Harisam in the garden of our home, "Asha Niketan," for retarded adults in Bangalore, India. It was hot. My hands were blistered; I am not used to digging, particularly in hot sun. Harisam indicated to me that he had not eaten. He is thin, very thin. I don't know how he can work as he does, especially not having eaten, especially having eaten so little for so many years. He looks as if he is 45, but he must be younger. He is weatherbeaten, having always lived in poor–miserably poor conditions compared to Canadian standards. His wife and daughter and his son Tony live in the same small room. There they eat, sleep, and live. Tony, 7 years old, washes himself naked at the well, pouring buckets of water over himself. He laughs gaily. His large black eyes, covered with long eyelashes, radiate; and his brilliant white teeth shine as he smiles. He ate breakfast with us this morning. I am not sure whether normally he eats breakfast. This morning he was happy. How is it that every day there seem to be more people in Harisam's family room? Francis was there this morning; he, too, came to breakfast. Harisam must invite his family in, cousins, and uncles, and so on. He always seems ready to share what little he has; that is how they are in India; always ready to share the meagre pittance they have.

I wonder why the rich frequently are more niggardly than the poor! Strange.

I was disturbed yesterday. A man–a stranger–was taking nuts (I am not sure what sort of nuts) from one of our trees. They are our trees, not his. But maybe he had not eaten for a few days. It is easy to defend one's trees when one has eaten well.

But to come back to Harisam. We were playing ball the other day. There was Joseph (some people would call him mongoloid; he would prefer to be called just Joseph); Tony, the Ghurka night watchman, with his long curved dagger; Gurunathan (some people call him mentally retarded; he prefers to be called just Guru); Dilip (some would call him schizophrenic, but he is just Dilip–a little bit vague, and now and again in another world–maybe in his world there is more justice and love; he had left ours because he hadn't found any love in it, only hate and rejection; he had been found naked in the streets of Bombay, naked and jeered at); Gobin, who accompanied Dilip from Bombay, and will be returning there. Then there were Philip (we met him in the train on the way from Bombay; he just came for the evening), and Ronald and myself. We were throwing the ball one to another–not a very exciting game, not much action; but we were happy. We were together, and we were playing.

The mosquitos, too, were happy, for we were all sitting targets. Dilip had difficulty catching the ball and throwing it. He is not used to throwing balls in his world. We were trying to bring him back to ours. I wonder why. There is so little love and justice in ours. Harisam came to join the group. He saw Dilip's difficulties and went over to him, delicately helping him to catch and throw the ball. He was very patient with him, taking his arms in his hands to show him how to catch and throw. Maybe Harisam, because he, too, has suffered poverty, rejection, despisal —he is of a low class—has more understanding for Dilip. He has a heart of compassion. He understands.

Why do so many lack compassion? Why was Dilip (he seems to come from quite a high class family) rejected, when Harisam seems to welcome him so beautifully? Strange.

He has a very fine smile, Harisam, but his eyes show fatigue and sadness—not despair, just sadness. He is good to the dog, giving him some food. He is a horrible dog who barks at strangers, but Harisam is good to him. Maybe the eyes of Harisam tell us a message from God; maybe the eyes of God are like Harisam's: sad, sad, because so few care about the millions of Harisams throughout the world.

Antoniama, Harisam's daughter is getting married next week. It will be an important occasion. She has a lovely smile and her eyes are not sad. They will become sad as time goes on; when she has children and they fall sick, and they die because she has not enough money to go to the doctor or to buy medicine, or doesn't know there is a dispensary not too far away. But she is a good girl and she will always welcome people, her cousins, uncles, mother, and so on, and give them food even when she has none. That is the way they do things here.

In every home I visit in India, I find so many people—brothers and sisters, cousins and uncles, grandmothers, mothers-in-law, and so on. It is normal here for kinsfolk to live together and for the old people to stay with their children. It is normal, isn't it?

> *I wonder what "normal" means. I wonder what "right" and "just" mean. Why do we find so many old people's homes in Europe and America? It must not be much fun to be an old person in the West. Unless, of course, one has a lot of money and can have a car and a chauffeur, of course. But for the majority of old people it can't be much fun.*

It will be wonderful when we find the cure for cancer. We will have more and more old people. It will be good to have more and more sad people. What a wonderful thing science is. There are more and more sad people in our lands. Maybe *Time* can make another survey in ten years' time about the conditions of old people.

The old people don't look so sad in India. Of course, there are no old people's homes. Have you seen the nobility in the faces of those old men —faces lined with wisdom and fatigue? Is India a developing country—developing towards what?

I was struck the other day by a remark made by a man here in Bangalore. He asked me how much I earned. I told him I don't earn but I live and eat and sleep there where I work. He said, "But how can your mother live if you don't earn?" *It is easy to work for no pay in our countries where we have arranged things in such a way as not to have dependents.*

Joseph (some call him mongoloid but he prefers just Joseph) has a twinkle in his eye. He plays little jokes on people; he laughs easily hiding his face rather coyly behind his hands. We are all pleased that he is at Asha Niketan (which means "Home of Hope"). He is beginning to work well. He sings—not very well—but we like to hear him sing. He likes Gabrielle's cooking.

Somebody looked at him the other day and said, "Poor boy." I wonder why. The person who said this has a sad face and is rather aggressive. Joseph seems very happy at Asha Niketan. Could this person, so sad and aggressive, be jealous of the smile and happiness of Joseph? But we like to hear him sing.

It reminded me of that schoolyard in France. Many children were playing there, skipping, dancing, throwing balls, laughing and singing. There were four or five adults, teachers I suppose, who were watching over them. These teachers had such long, sad, serious faces. They must have had many problems and worries, and maybe they were tired and were not getting enough pay—then there are the trade unions, and family problems, jealousies—maybe one of them had a child sick or a boyfriend who had let them down.

> *Is it the sign of an adult to be sad, and the sign of a child to be simple and joyful?*
>
> *Maybe adults are sad for they feel alone and have to resolve so many problems, maybe they feel insecure in their solitude. Haven't they pushed themselves into their solitude by rejecting their old people, and by rejecting prayer and faith in a loving God who watches over them? Alone they are; and intrinsically each one knows his poverty and weakness (even though he won't always admit it). It is a pity they can't discover a form of community life which will combine the liberty we all need, and the security which we need even more. It is only then that they will find peace of heart, continual joyfulness, happy acceptance of one's lot, linked to a desire to make our world a better place.*
>
> *In the present state of affairs it is a really sad thing to grow up?*

I brought a young lad to hospital the other day. It was important that he undergo psychiatric treatment. He was greeted by the casualty officer (who admits men into hospital). He prescribed there and then, Largactil. The nurse obeyed, and at once arrived with a long needle—very evident, and very long. The young lad took fright and started biting his hand, and then tried to bite the hand of the nurse. Reinforcements arrived. Onlookers watched curiously. "Watch the mad boy." At last things were under control. Five people held the boy on the bed. He got his needle and fell asleep.

Strange, I had been with this young lad for a few days; never had he showed the least inclination to violence. On the contrary, he had been very easy, even passive. In a few minutes the official healers had turned him into a savage boy. And yet, wasn't his reaction a very natural one? Wasn't his violence the sign that he had hope and health in him? Who amongst us would not have reacted as he reacted? The doctor didn't think of telling him that he was going to get a needle, let alone asking him if he would accept it. The doctor and the nurse appeared to this boy as infringing upon his rights. The needle appeared to him as a long, cold-blooded dagger, the science of the doctor as a diabolical science of violence and hatred.

Is it possible for a young lad to get better and to return to reality when reality greets him like that? Who would want to return to this world of violence if one has slipped away into the apparent bliss of some world of dream?

It is so easy to forget that the schizophrenic (I hate the word) is a person—a person who needs comprehension, understanding, compassion. The application of science without compassion is to create a cold world which engenders anguish and then violence. *Is the young lad mad, or is the scientist who applies his knowledge without love mad?*

I wonder what the stately cocktail-goers of London thought about that little Indian "fanatic," "rebel," called Gandhi. "Awful nuisance that little madman who does not eat meat . . . disturbing the British Empire." "I see neither contradiction nor insanity in my life," wrote Gandhi.[1] "The sages have often likened a man of religion to a lunatic. I therefore hug the belief that I may not be insane and may be truly religious. Which of the two I am in truth can only be decided after my death."

The Pharisees said, too, that Jesus was possessed by a demon—a raving lunatic—healing all those people, those miserable poor people, lepers, on the Sabbath day. Imagine! "The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men," wrote St. Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians.

> *I wonder who is mad and who is normal. I suppose a good definition for the madman would be "he who disturbs the normal person." Have you looked at the world of normal people? It might be a good thing if there were more madmen . . .*

> *But, of course, the normal people would shut them up in prisons and psychiatric hospitals. How many years did Gandhi stay in prison? And Jesus was condemned to death and to hang on a cross. And each one of us is a bit like Pilate—we wash our hands; it's not our fault.*
>
> *Is it worthwhile to be a madman? Isn't it safer to be normal? Safer . . . yes, or maybe. But who wants "safety"?*
>
> *It is better to die for a cause than go mad in a normal old people's home.*

Some people are handicapped very visibly. You can see their deformed faces or their legs don't work. Some are bedridden; some are blind; some act in a "peculiar" way. These people are pitied: "Poor fellow." "How sad." "Isn't it better not to be born." We speak of therapeutic abortion and infanticide.

Other people are terribly handicapped but it is not visible. The director of a factory who fires his workers just because he is obsessed by production; the husband incapable of understanding the needs of his wife and children; the mother over-possessive of her children; the pushers of drugs; those who are totally unable to understand the feelings of others and are driven by a fantastic egocentric force which destroys people around them; those who throw away food when others are starving; those who have many houses when others have none; those who can't see the sufferings of others—these are terrible handicaps, far worse than the twisted arms or legs.

Krishna, lying in bed in a home in Bombay, his body all twisted up, has a beautiful smile. When I saw him the other day I was struck by a sort of radiation that flowed from him, a peace; he has accepted his lot, not in sadness, but in some mysterious inner joy.

The hard of heart who doesn't care for his suffering brother and doesn't even see him, has eyes that are dead.

Is it better to get rid of the sad eyes, or the pure and candid eyes? Should we weep for the hard of heart or the armless? Who does more harm in this universe?

The father of Daniel (he is called mentally retarded, but Daniel to you and me) telephoned one day, "I am taking Daniel away from your house. I have found a workshop nearer my city." It was a question of less than thirty miles and the father only took Daniel home on weekends, in his car of course. I said, "Have you asked Daniel's advice? Maybe he wants to stay with his friends here." The father said, "No." *I wonder why he didn't ask Daniel first. Daniel is over 21 and knows what he wants. Why do people treat Daniel as mentally retarded, and not as Daniel?*

There was a man walking from Jerusalem to Jericho. He fell among robbers who beat him up and left him in a comatic state. He was lying in the middle of the road covered in blood. A priest went by and then a

Levite; both saw him, crossed the road and walked on. *The priest and the Levite are you and I. I wonder why we walk on?*

I suppose that we are frightened of the consequences; and we always have very pressing appointments, and are already late—"the next person can look after him . . . it is none of my business . . . I don't know him."

It is always a dangerous thing to stop by a suffering person. He might drain on you. And blood is a messy business. I might soil my clothes. They might think I did it. I wonder what we would say if we had been beaten up by robbers and were lying there, and people passed by.

> *Thank God for the Samaritan (a stranger in Israel—rejected from the community of the Jews) who was moved by compassion. In the Greek: "his entrails were turned, were moved by pity and love." It is important to let our entrails be turned upside down in front of suffering people. Only then do we identify ourselves with their suffering, and realize what they need and want—a loving hand, a smile, tenderness, delicacy of touch, mercy, and real help.*

Do you think that one day innovations in social sciences will replace compassion and tender, respectful love? Maybe we could invent a fantastic computer, an electric machine. In it we will put all our social evils—the handicapped, the impoverished, delinquents, drug addicts, the hungry. What will come out?

> *For God's sake, before it is too late, do not, do not stifle love and compassion.*
>
> *For God's sake, before our world is torn asunder by hate and violence, by fear and by the security of riches, do not escape into innovations of social sciences for fear of showing your incapacity to listen, to be open, to be tender and loving.*

I have found so many poor, ignorant people, bedridden or hungry, or mentally handicapped, who are wonderfully capable of compassion.

I have found so many rich, active, clever, efficient people incapable of listening and of understanding the sufferings and needs of others. They spend too much time defending the riches. It is a real pity. Riches were meant to be given away. It gives such joy to be able to give. It is a sad thing to be closed in upon oneself. We can receive so much in being open to others, communing with them, listening to them.

Could this world be upside down?
Could the rich be poor and the poor rich?
Do you think the blind man sees and the man with
  sight could he be blind?
Could a flower be of more value than a machine?
A humming-bird of greater price than a Boeing?

Maybe air and water are our most precious possessions
And we only realized it after it was too late
When already we had the factories
    and the machines
    and the fuel oil.
The child sucking at the breasts of his mother
The limpid pure eyes of the little boy
Two hands locked together
    mutual trust
    and a world in peace.
Is it possible?

When an educator, specialized with all his degrees, comes to us to work, he sometimes asks immediately to see the file of one of our handicapped men. "No. Meet him first as a person, learn to love him and discover in him his qualities, listen to what he has to say before reading him up as a case."

We sometimes hide our inability to be compassionate behind a barrier of science.

> *I have always wondered why doctors, "healers of men"—what a wonderful thing it must be to alleviate suffering!—are amongst the richest of our land. I suppose it must be a bit trying to heal people. It is a pity that doctors make so much money. It must be even more wonderful to heal and take no money. Heal just because a fellow man is suffering....*

Do you think any social innovations are possible until we wage war against publicity—that form of publicity we see over television and in *Life* magazine—inciting to buy, using all forms of trickery (psychological and otherwise) and lies in order to incite people to buy, deforming values in order to make people buy ... all methods are good as long as people buy ... provoking jealousies and envies ... inciting to buy on credit, thus enslaving people in the chains of debt ... creating false desires when real needs are not being satisfied ... and so on.

But who would pay for our television if we did not have commercials. It is rather sad that cultural and social information and entertainment is bribed into being by the need to sell.

Of course, if we sell, we produce; if we produce, we pay workers; if we pay workers, they buy—the circle of economy. Who will break this vicious circle?

What would happen if instead of commercials we had 'value-ads' inciting people to break down prejudices, to pardon faults, to seek universal brotherhood?

The world is more and more united. We can take a plane to India, go to Japan; we can flit around the world in charter flights. We can see the moon, close-up, on television. We see the earthquakes in Peru, the war in Vietnam. We are aware of the hot points of our globe. United Nations try vainly to maintain some semblance of order.

But divisions remain and seem to grow; divisions between generations; divisions between rich and poor; divisions between men and women—at every corner we see and feel violence. Divisions, deep divisions in the heart of man . . . where is there peace? We are so full of fear.

Peace will only come if we attack violently our own egoisms and selfishness. Peace is the fruit of communion. Communion is death to our egoism, for it is understanding the needs of my brother—lying in a comatic state on the road, or handicapped, or Harisam and his son Tony, or . . . It means espousing (I like the word) his sufferings and needs. Communion is the same as compassion.

Peace will only come if we wage war against division. That means that the rich must dispossess themselves of all that is superfluous and give it to those who are in need to help them attain human dignity and liberty (which means amongst other things: earning a sufficient wage to buy essential needs).

> *"The rich,"* wrote *Gandhi, "have a superfluous store of things which they do not need, and which therefore are neglected and wasted, while millions are starved to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want, and all would live in contentment. As it is, the rich are discontented no less than the poor. The poor man would fain become a millionaire, and the millionaire a multi-millionaire. The rich should take the initiative in dispossession with a view to a universal diffusion of the spirit of contentment."*[1]

I wonder if ever that day will come when the rich and poor will share their goods together freely and out of love—not through fear and in tyranny; when black and white will walk hand in hand neither feeling superior; when men of different religions will really pray together, each feeling poor and helpless before God; when men will seek more to give than to receive or take.

Will that be paradise?

If we do not head towards this goal we risk to accentuate divisions; envy and jealousy will be born; hatred will shortly follow; violence and revolution is the child of hatred.

If we do not seek to become brothers to all men (sick or healthy, visibly or invisibly handicapped, Asian or European, or African or American, or South American or communist or capitalist) then we but take our place in the creating of division. And all will end one day in the violence and fire of hatred.

I would rather burn now by the fire of love and sacrifice and dispossess myself of goods in order to prepare a real paradise of peace (may God give me strength to do so and keep me faithful to this love).

And I believe that this paradise is possible: it is possible if many—if many of the young accept to go forward and help create a new world of fraternity; if they turn their backs upon the values accepted by our decaying society where so many are obsessed by wealth—more and more wealth— but gained so often upon the ignorance and false and created needs of others; if they refuse the escape towards drugs but search quietly and in perseverance to share with the hungry and the afflicted.

Time is running short. Despair is rampant throughout the world. Violence is on the brink of explosion in many hot points. Fear inhabits the hearts of many who hide themselves behind the walls of security of wealth and position, not knowing what energies of love are latent in them, ready to surge forward under the touch of our Beloved God.

It is no longer a time for reform. It is too late. It is the time of swift action, decision, and revolution.

Revolution of hate or revolution of love? Are we ready to give up everything, to offer even our lives, for the cause of justice and peace? Are we ready to take up the arms of non-violence and non-aggressivity to bring hope to the world? For too long the poor have been oppressed, the negroes have been inferiorized, the handicapped have been despised. The consequences of years of sin and injustice committed by our civilization cannot be repaired in a few days. The gravity of the hour demands an answer that be total and radical and lasting. It demands that many offer themselves non-violently for the salvation of all men, leaving home and family, goods and riches, even culture and education, inspired by a new hope, a dynamism of love, ready unto death to give themselves to the service of their afflicted brothers.

Can this revolution of love be accomplished without that force which springs from the Eternal—Source of all real Peace—and makes of us "new men?"

Then maybe the Harisams, and the Josephs, and the Dilips and the Daniels, and the Krishnas, and the young lad in the hospital, and the sad adults and the children, and the Americans and the French, the Indians and the Vietnamese, will live in peace in a world motivated above all by compassion. And they will work together for the weakest members of the community; and they will sing and dance together; and they will laugh together; and God will be in His people and with His people. And all will rejoice in Him, the Compassionate One.

1 *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. London: Oxford Press, 1945, pp. 3-4.

2 *Selections from Gandhi*, by Nirmal Kumar Bose. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1948, no. 271.

(4) Seeds of Promise

KNUTE BUTTEDAHL (1968)

Canadian Participation in Adult Education Abroad.

This is a summary of four years of Canadian contribution to the development of adult education at the University of Rajasthan, India. It is written as a testimony to the universal nature of adult education and to the fellowship among adult educators which transcends national boundaries.

The reader should realize that the Rajasthan Adult Education Project was the base for two-way learning. The Canadian Advisers, without a doubt, received more than they could hope to give in return. It was a unique experience for each of the seven Canadians who had the opportunity to test their skills and experience in the laboratory, which was Rajasthan. When this new experience was coupled with the friendship and hospitality of our Indian colleagues, it produced the stuff out of which life-long memories are made. Each adviser today considers himself a better adult educator as a result of his experience in India.

This report can justifiably be termed a success story.

India has attached much importance to adult education over many decades. Her social education program, with its emphasis on the eradication of illiteracy, has commanded world-wide attention, as has her Community Development program of "practised democracy". These are only a few of the many adult education activities that have been a part of the Indian scene for years. Adult education is not some new fad or a foreign import in India. Adult education permeates the whole fabric of Indian society. It is both official and voluntary, and it has long been a part of the Indian tradition.

It was upon this base that the Canadian Advisers in Adult Education at the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur were able to build.

Rajasthan is India's third largest State and encompasses a population exceeding 20 million. Eight out of every ten people live in the over 33,000 villages. Once at the bottom of the literacy scale, Rajasthan has made valiant efforts to eradicate illiteracy.

The Rajasthan University Act was promulgated in 1947. The University is directly involved in teaching and research as well as being the affiliating body for colleges throughout the whole state. In addition, four government colleges in Jaipur have been taken under the direct administration of the University as constituent colleges. The University of Rajasthan was the only one in the country with a full-fledged Department of Adult Education, which was started in November 1962.

In 1960, Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta became Vice-Chancellor of the University. For many years he had served as President of the Indian Adult Education Association. With his deep interest in adult education it was not surprising that after assuming the office of Vice-Chancellor, he should propose the establishment of a Department of Adult Education.

In the summer of 1961 Dr. J. Roby Kidd, who was then Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, met Dr. Mehta in India. Kidd arranged for a visit to India in February 1962 of Dr. John K. Friesen, then Director of Extension at The University of British Columbia. Dr. Mehta enlisted the support of both these men in his quest for assistance.

A request was made to Canada for technical assistance under the provisions of the Colombo Plan. The choice of Canada as a source from which to seek help was made because the comprehensive purpose and programs of university extension in North America closely approximated the needs of emerging India, where the university could not afford to be only a repository of knowledge isolated from the community.

In due course, the Canadian External Aid Office (now named the Canadian International Development Agency) sought out the help of The University of British Columbia. Finally, in 1964, negotiations were concluded and a contract approved which by November saw the arrival of the first two Canadian Advisers on the campus of the University of Rajasthan.

The prime objective of the agreement was that U.B.C. was "to assist in the development of the Department of Adult Education, University of Rajasthan, including the initiating of a research program in adult education". The Canadian Advisers assigned to the project were "to assist in the planning, organization, development and implementation of adult education courses, seminars, curricula, library facilities and other related matters."

The Advisers also were expected to carry out related teaching. Finally, because the success of this project would be dependent upon eventually leaving the Department of Adult Education in the hands of trained and competent Indians, the Advisers were "to interview and make recommendations on students intending to study adult education in Canada".

The project functioned for a total of four years before being concluded on August 31, 1968. The total commitment which Canada was prepared to make for the four year period was $230,000. The following summary will highlight the accomplishments of four years of Canadian support.

The first major task undertaken by the team of Advisers was to plan and conduct a state-wide exploratory study to find out how university resources could best serve the people of Rajasthan. Within a fairly short period of time dozens of groups and agencies and hundreds of individuals were interviewed in 16 representative villages and in 6 urban centres. Within five months a 141 page report was published under the title, *Continuing Education at the University—A plan for the University of Rajasthan*. Under the direction of Dr. John K. Friesen and Dr. James A.

Draper this study and consequent report became a handbook for the organization of adult education at other Indian universities as well.

The extensive list of recommendations included a suggestion for the expansion of university extension courses which were not concerned with the obtaining of degrees. Continuing professional education was seen as a widespread need. The university was urged to develop diploma and degree programs in adult education. A state association of adult education and a national association of university extension were encouraged.

The potentialities of correspondence instruction were presented, as was the importance of residential education. The need for libraries and an audio-visual centre also were included in the proposals. Finally, the report recommended the establishment of an Evening College to provide instruction to employed persons desiring higher education.

Within the four year span of the project, the Advisers saw some attention being given to most of these recommendations.

In October of 1965 a university committee was appointed to draw up a plan for correspondence study. Within two months the University Syndicate approved all recommendations of the committee and discussions commenced with the University Grants Commission (UGC). In the spring of 1968 the UGC sanctioned a four-year grant to support correspondence courses. By the time the last Canadian Adviser had left, the University of Rajasthan had appointed an acting director and the writing of courses in Hindi had commenced; over 3,000 enquiries had been received in response to advertisements in newspapers throughout India. It was obvious that through this program the University of Rajasthan would make a tremendous national contribution.

Another special university committee was appointed to study the possibility of developing Evening Colleges in Rajasthan. In April of 1966 the committee made proposals for starting evening classes in Jaipur, and in 1967 the Commerce College commenced a three-year post-graduate Diploma program conducted in the evenings.

The University made many submissions to the Ministry of Education about the need for a Centre for Continuing Education but it became increasingly clear that war and famine had placed abnormal strains on the Indian economy and that it would be some time before funds could be found for the construction of such a Centre. The Canadian Advisers helped the university work out an interim and alternative concept of a "nucleus Centre for Continuing Education" which would make use of existing campus and community facilities. Funding was found to establish the "nucleus" and in July of 1968 Mr. L. R. Shah was appointed as Director-in-charge. Mr. Shah had received a fellowship in 1966-67 to study adult education at The University of British Columbia and to visit other Canadian and European institutions.

Early in 1966 the University Syndicate gave approval for the development of a syllabus of courses on adult education.

The University of Rajasthan advertised on several occasions for a Reader (equivalent to an Assistant Professor in Canada) to head up the teaching program. In the meantime, the program was handled by the senior staff of the Department of Adult Education with the assistance of other faculty and of the Canadian. In June of 1967, Glen A. Eyford arrived in Jaipur to take over from William A. Day and Knute Buttedahl who returned to Canada. Mr. Eyford was committed very heavily in planning and teaching the Diploma program. Early in 1968, Dr. Allen M. Tough was assigned to the Project for several months to underpin the teaching program, since the University had not yet appointed a Reader.

The concept of a broad "umbrella" organization to administer and coordinate the many facets of adult and continuing education had first been introduced in the 1965 report. Subsequent Advisers gave further support to this type of organizational arrangement and many discussions were held with university administrators. Finally, in July of 1968, the University Syndicate created the skeleton of an Institute without giving it a name. Four wings were established under a Coordinator; an Extension Wing, a Teaching Wing, a Centre for Continuing Education, and a Correspondence Wing. Taking over as Director-in-charge of the Adult Education Extension Wing, was Mrs. C. K. Dandiya, who had served as assistant director of the old Department of Adult Education and who had studied adult education at the University of British Columbia in 1966 on a Colombo Plan Fellowship from Canada.

While these developments were taking place, the Canadian Advisers also concentrated upon the development and expansion of the more traditional functions of University Extension—that of organizing lectures and courses for the general public. The Canadians worked with their Indian colleagues and together they organized a mass of activity which demonstrated the enormous potential of programming with even a small staff and meagre resources. These activities also established models for future development.

The catalytic effect of new developments at the University of Rajasthan encouraged other things to happen. Two outstanding events took place under the sponsorship of the Indian Adult Education Association and the University of Rajasthan. A national conference on adult education was held at Mount Abu, and a conference on university adult education was organized at Bhopal. On the first day of May 1967 the University Adult Education Association (later renamed the Indian Universities Association for Continuing Education) came into being to promote university adult education. The Advisers also encouraged the organization of the Rajasthan Adult Education Association (1966), the Bikaner Adult Education Council (1966), the Jaipur Adult Education Council of headmasters, and the Bhilwara District Adult Education Council.

The Advisers became the focal point for many enquiries from Canadians who wanted to help. A private trust to which 32 individuals contributed $2,200 provided funds for a variety of expenditures which were not covered by the project contract. Books and other publications, office equipment, and mimeograph paper were contributed by a number of organizations and firms. The B.C. Credit Union League contributed almost $4,000 which supported three major projects—a special one month course for cooperative societies and village councils, the provision of 40 transistor radios to village listening clubs, and the purchase of sewing machines for women's literacy classes.

Other organizations also channeled assistance through the Advisers. UBC Extension staff and others donated funds, clothing, and a knitting machine to a slum welfare project in Jaipur, to which each Adviser also gave personal support. The list grows long and is indicative of the sincere desire to help. It was a pleasant task for the Canadian Advisers to spark and coordinate this demonstration of goodwill between people.

As this report has described, the encouragement and suggestions of the Canadian Advisers have been given serious consideration. Our Indian colleagues have shown good natured forbearance with the frequent impatience of the Canadians who are accustomed to working in a more affluent setting and a different society. But things have happened in Rajasthan, in their own logical sequence and at their own pace of time. Less than five years later the University Grants Commission was to sanction grants to twenty other universities to commence or extend programs of adult education. Growth in Rajasthan has been slow but the plan is spreading all over India.

(5) The 1960's—Every Year was International Co-operation Year

J. R. KIDD (1968)

1965 was celebrated everywhere as International Co-operation Year. But, as expressed in a citation by the Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, when he was presenting a medallion for international co-operation, "in adult education every year is international co-operation year." That may be an exaggeration, but the main point is accurate enough. Of all the fields of education, adult education is most truly international, making up for some of the resources it lacks by the co-operation between its practitioners. Canadian adult educationists have been in the forefront of this "global affair."

In the late 1960's, the Canadian Association for Adult Education established a Committee on International Relations headed by Gordon Selman. Some people have now forgotten that the CAAE has had its own international development projects since 1952, preceding by at least a decade most of the organizations created for programs of international development. In 1952, Charles Topshee was sent by the CAAE to the Caribbean on a short mission, soon to be followed by E. A. Corbett, initiating a chain of associations that have continued ever since. In the 1950's friends of the CAAE raised funds for a contribution to the headquarters of the Indian adult education association, farm forum members raised money for radios to be sent to farm forums in India and relations with adult education movements in most parts of the world were well established. However, the major developments were to come in the 1960's.

International association through intergovernmental organizations.

The participation of the CAAE in UNESCO affairs started in the first year of UNESCO, long before there was a national Commission in Canada. Indeed, for five years the CAAE journal, *Food For Thought*, was the only publication in Canada that regularly carried news of UNESCO and the CAAE, through the Joint Planning Commission, carried on the chief "lobby" for formation of a National UNESCO Commission in Canada. The Association was also a sponsor with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture of the UNESCO study of National Farm Radio Forum. These activities led in their turn to the invitation by Canada for UNESCO to hold its second World Conference on Adult Education in Canada.

Others have been generous in their compliments about Canada's role at that Conference and have said that it was the achievement of the Canadian delegation, as hosts, that was primarily responsible for changing a potential explosion, or at least stalemate, into concord. Because this was the first UNESCO world conference in which Communist countries were represented and since 1960 was the very depth of the "Cold War", there had been many predictions of failure, and perhaps of disaster. One issue on which the Conference was expected to founder, because of the alignment of forces, was that of peace and disarmament, but when a resolution was submitted by Senator Donald Cameron, as head of the Canadian delegation, it was given unanimous assent. This action did not happen by chance; there were many informal meetings initiated by Canadians over a period of a week designed to bring about understanding and co-operation. Whoever was most responsible (and the Russian and other delegations also deserve great praise) the result was a recognition that not only did adult educationists everywhere share the same goals, convictions and methods but that they could work together effectively despite international barriers and tensions. By good luck and by hard work there has never been a retreat from that expectation, or that position.

In the 1960's Canadians continued to participate systematically in UNESCO affairs, particularly since J. R. Kidd, and later Garnet Page, served as Chairmen of the UNESCO International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education. The chief fields of participation were in literacy, utilization of mass media, and family planning and during the decade a number of Canadians undertook missions on behalf of UNESCO.

Other intergovernmental organizations also attracted the service of Canadian adult educationists. The International Labour Organization did; particularly the Workers Education Department, through which men like Max Swerdlow and Jacques Victor Morin went to Africa and Asia to develop programs for workers. Others served the ILO, in developing co-operatives; UNICEF and FAO and WHO also attracted the services of Canadian adult educationists.

However, despite the inclusiveness of intergovernmental agencies, and the fact that they provide the only possible links with some countries, they tend by their nature to be as inflexible as the governments who are their members. This is not to criticize them or deny their value, which some Canadians are all too prone to do. UNESCO has a budget to support its work in 135 countries in education, science and culture that is about equal to the budget of the Toronto School Board, yet UNESCO is often criticized because it cannot be everything to everybody and all at once, and because its policies are decided by the governments who are its members, which sometime results in decisions not favoured by some Canadian critics. However, essential though they are, the work of education in the world demands other mechanisms than intergovernmental structures. The 1960's was a time when many international non-governmental organizations were first engaged or employed for such purposes.

One of these was the International Congress of University Adult Education, founded in 1960 with William McCallion of McMaster University as its first President. Another was the Adult Education Committee of the World Confederation of the Organizations of the Teaching Profession, founded in 1959 with J. R. Kidd as its first Chairman. Canadians have had a major participation in such varied international NGO's as the International Council of Correspondence Education, International Co-operative Alliance, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, International Countrywomen of the World, World Alliance of the YMCA and the YWCA, and the International Council of Churches. The effect of these organizations is not well known in Canada, because the combined story has never been told and the total impact has never been measured, but it is sizeable and enlarging.

The same decade witnessed the initiation or enlargement of a number of Canadian organizations specializing in international development, such as Canadian University Service Overseas, Canadian Executives Service Overseas, Canadian Council for International Cooperation and the increasing international activity on the part of the churches, the trade unions and co-operatives, the Y's, and such international welfare agencies as the Red Cross. Adult educationists participated in all these activities and were responsible for founding the Overseas Institute, now the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, as a national clearing-house for non-governmental organizations as well as the Overseas Book Centre, a still unheralded agency that has distributed more than a million books every year to developing countries over the past fifteen years.

International "years".

During the 1960's occurred a number of *international years*—years devoted to special efforts to inform people about their world responsibilities and to launch practical measures of international aid. Most of the structures created for the promotion of ideas and programs during these years were managed by adult educationists, and the network of relationships of Canadian adult education was harnessed for each cause. Examples are World Refugee Year (Muriel Jacobson and others), Freedom from Hunger (with Howard Trueman and others), International Co-operation Year (with Roby Kidd and many others) and the year of Human Rights (with Arthur Stinson and others). Critics are not lacking who ridicule attempts to celebrate any awareness of human need over a prescribed time span like a day, a week or a year. However, while some of the hopes were never realized, these years did result in a Canadian public much better informed as well as in fashioning some practical measures of Canadian assistance that still go on. Because these were primarily educational campaigns, they also resulted in a much better understanding within Canada of the limits of what is possible, that international co-operation is a mutual affair and not a "lady bountiful" operation, and also the sobering realization that much "aid" from western countries has had adverse effects, operating primarily in the interests of western nations, rather than people in the developing countries.

University extension departments, and their national organization the Canadian Association of Directors of Extension and Summer Schools were also active in fostering international exchanges.

Elsewhere in the world regional adult educational organizations were forming, particularly in Europe, Asia and Africa. For North America, Alan Thomas and the CAAE took the leadership, with the co-operation of the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes. Canada was host in 1967 to a North American conference on adult education. For various reasons, no permanent regional structure emerged but it seems probable that the seeds of co-operation planted then will mature in the 1970's.

International co-operation can be facilitated by organizations but it is really an affair of people, sometimes just two people. In the 1950's, and increasingly in the 1960's, adult educationists began to find their way to Canada to study such activities as the Antigonish Movement, Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum, the use of films and television in adult education, the co-operative movement and co-operative education, workers' education, management training in corporations and government, continuing education of doctors and lawyers and the education of women, of immigrants and of native peoples. In all of these exchanges, Canadian adult educationists benefited as well and many of them led to return visits by Canadians to Asia, Africa, Latin America as well as Europe.

Throughout the decade Canadian adult educationists continued to go abroad on aid projects and Canadian adult education agencies were contributing some funds and materials to adult education enterprises abroad. One of the valuable by-products of this period was the number of volunteers, most of them, but not all, younger people, who during a period of service in foreign countries for CUSO or some other agency had discovered the need and the value of adult education and on return sought a career with adult education organizations.

New channels of international co-operation in adult education: China

These are not spectacular accomplishments but they are solid and enlarging. So were the inconspicuous but systematic attempts by Canadians to open up new channels of co-operation in all parts of the world. For example, during the midst of the tensions and threats of war surrounding Cuba, Canadian adult educationists continued to visit and keep in touch with Cuban educationists. Beginnings were also attempted in relations with China. Early in the decade Franc Joubin, Ken Woodsworth (several times) and Geoffrey Andrew had gone to China to talk with Chinese leaders and investigate social and educational activities. In 1965 I was in China to carry out discussions about cultural and educational exchanges.

Writing in that year, I noted: "Every year at the United Nations, or almost any other international conference, the participants carry on as if the most populous, and, in some ways, the most remarkable people of all time no longer existed. But they do; they are thirty-five times as numerous as are Canadians; they are working and building and studying; they will confront our children at every turn."

New mechanisms for international co-operation

It was also increasingly apparent, to me at least, that international adult education needed new mechanisms. I tried to explore these possibilities in a 1966 article that was published in the Adult Education Journal in four different countries: "I believe that the time has come for renewed attention to the question of how to achieve greater international co-operation in adult education. And I wish to recall that the conclusion of the discussions on these matters in Elsinore in 1949 and in Montreal in 1960 was to postpone the dialogue for a time, but not to bury the subject! It is my purpose, not to praise Caesar nor even exhume him, but to make re-examination and re-appraisal.

Still on our Agenda

"Why, then, should a question be raised about other forms of organization for international co-operation in adult education?

"The answer to this is clear. It is no criticism of UNESCO to point out that UNESCO cannot accomplish all that is needed.

"Primarily, UNESCO is an organization of governments. Those who make decisions are government officials or appointees. This is UNESCO's strength; this is what made possible the world-wide acceptance of adult education as the responsibility of all governments. But government appointees may not be, and usually are not, well-informed about the needs of adult education. UNESCO may at times respond to pressures and urgencies that have little to do with, or even be at variance with, the needs of adult education. Moreover, some countries are not associated with UNESCO, at least for the time being.

"Secondly, the total budget of UNESCO is far too small to accomplish all objectives or serve all needs. The percentage of this total that is now being spent, or is likely to be spent, on adult education will never be enough to cover all that must be done.

"Thirdly, UNESCO by its nature must operate in certain ways. Having such a broad spectrum of concerns and dealing with more than a hundred countries, it is difficult to focus on any single field, or respond quickly to demands, requests or urgencies. At the meeting of the Advisory Committee on Adult Education in Paris in 1965, the Committee was discussing programs and projects that should be implemented at once. These will only be introduced in a budget two years later. This is far too stately a pace for some educational needs. It is difficult to get attention for research, publications or training at the time when it is most needed. Moreover, services that seem essential to all adult educationists may be eliminated. Many individuals were thunderstruck and incensed when they learned that the UNESCO quarterly on adult education had been cancelled without warning, precisely at the time when the Committee was advocating further publication. No one criticizes the motives of those who made this decision. It was taken in the general interests of UNESCO, but it was a blow to the interests of adult education.

What is needed?

"In the past, debate has been joined between those who favoured and those who opposed a 'world association for adult education'. However, as Edward Hutchinson has pointed out, this debate may have been cast in the wrong mould. He had urged that what should be done is to identify the essential functions of international co-operation that ought to be fostered. It might then be determined which should be the responsibility of UNESCO and which might be carried out in some other way. There may be several means of action.

What might be done?

"There are several possibilities:

1. Those functions or activities which can best be managed by an official body representing governments and inter-governmental organizations should be left to UNESCO. Indeed, UNESCO should be encouraged and, whenever possible, aided to carry out as large a task as possible in adult education.

2. Some of the functions might be left or entrusted to other organizations. One of the most important changes that has occurred since 1960 is the creation or enlargement of adult education agencies:

"Organizations might be asked to collaborate. Some of them may be able to take on a special service on behalf of all. For example, the International Congress of University Adult Education, because its members are universities, might take the initiative in defining problems for research and inviting universities to undertake them.

"With planning, much effective work may be accomplished in these ways. It must be remembered that neither national agencies, where they exist, or regional, or international, organizations, are strong financially, nor do they have staff resources to undertake services on the scale that may be required.

3. Some modest form of world organization might be created in order to serve some of these purposes. It might feature exchanges between individual adult educationists. It might be able to stimulate some of the following activities:

... holding relatively small international meetings of adult educationists on specific problems:

... inviting member organizations to arrange regional meetings;

... facilitating the exchange of literature between countries and inviting some countries where there are excellent translation facilities (Russia or Czechoslovakia for example) to undertake such a service both for themselves and others;

... invite universities and agencies that have staff resources to undertake research;

... answer questions and enquiries;

... as adult educationists travel, arrange for them to meet colleagues in other countries;

... perhaps publish a journal and arrange for its translation in several languages.

"These would be modest efforts in relation to the need. They represent the kinds of contact that are either totally lacking at present or offered spasmodically and incompletely. If such functions were carried on systematically, we could all keep in better touch with progress in other parts of the world.

Membership?

"It would be essential, due to the vast differences around the world, to have flexibility in membership policies. Possible members would be the national associations (such as the CAAE, the AEA and the National Institute in England), such regional organizations or regional training centres as exist, or will be developed in Western Europe, Southeast Asia and Africa, and such international organizations as the International W.E.A. It should also be possible to include individuals and agencies either as members or as associate members thus able to contribute to and receive publications and be invited to international or regional meetings.

"To be successful, the organization must *not* be dominated by those of Anglo-Saxon origin, or by Western Europe and North America."

This article was soon reprinted in three other journals. Debate engendered by that article did not produce much that was tangible, in the months immediately after publication. However, by the end of 1972, widespread agreement would have been reached on the need for a sustained non-governmental international effort and in January 1973, the International Council for Adult Education would open its doors.

Conclusion

Internationally the 1960's was a decade of conflict, both within societies and between nations, and a time of disillusion for many about past attempts at international co-operation. It was also a time of growth. The attempts at cooperation go on despite the out-crys of the faint-hearted and cynical. More rational humane and sustained attempts are now being mounted, efforts related to the need of others, not self-aggrandizement. For the decade the words of the late Prime Minister Nehru of India have special pertinence:

> *We live in this world of conflicts and yet the world goes on undoubtedly because of the co-operation of nations and individuals. Little is known, or little is said, about co-operation . . . so the conflicts go on and we live on the verge of disaster. Perhaps it would be a truer picture if the co-operative elements in the world today were put forward and we were made to think that the world depends on co-operation and not on conflict.*

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Canadian Association
for Adult Education

Canadian Adult Education in the 1960's

Edited by J. ROBY KIDD and GORDON R. SELMAN

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